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# JAARBERICHT

VAN HET VOORAZIATISCH-EGYPTISCH GENOOTSCHAP

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(secrétaire de rédaction; Schubertlaan 50, 2102 EM Heemstede, Nederland).

### TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Franz Marius Theodor (De Liagre) Böhl	R. BORGER 3
Mesopotamian cylinder seals in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam (pl. I-VI)	D. J. W. MEIJER 7
Eine Kanne der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware im Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam (pl. VII-VIII)	G. WILD-WÜLKER 35
The Old Babylonian texts in the Allard Pierson Museum (pl. IX-XI)	W. H. VAN SOLDT, M. STOL 45
The struggle of king Sargon II of Assyria against the Chaldaean Merodach- Baladan (710-707 B.C.)	R. J. VAN DER SPEK 56
A Hittite tablet in Liverpool Museum (pl. XII)	J. DE ROOS 67
Vrees in de Pyramideteksten	L. J. CAZEMIER 75



FRANZ MARIUS THEODOR (DE LIAGRE) BÖHL



Am 16. November 1976 verstarb im Alter von 94 Jahren F. M. Th. DE LIAGRE BÖHL, der viele Jahre Mitglied des beratenden Komitees von *JEOL* war und zahlreiche wertvolle Beiträge in dieser Zeitschrift veröffentlicht hat.

Über den Lebenslauf (DE LIAGRE) BÖHL's <sup>1)</sup> ist ziemlich viel publiziert worden. Als anlässlich seines siebenzigsten Geburtstags ein stattlicher Band „*Opera minora*“ herausgebracht wurde, leitete M. A. BEEK diesen Band mit einer biographischen Skizze ein. Zwei Nachrufe sind inzwischen bereits erschienen: von RÖMER in *BiOr* 23/III-IV und von KAMPMAN in *Akkadica* 3 (Brüssel 1977), S. 9-14. In der *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* vom 15. August 1962 hat GEMSER BÖHL's Lebenslauf bis zu seinem achtzigsten Geburtstag mit viel Sympathie und auf Grund langjähriger Bekanntschaft beschrieben. In *JEOL* 12 (1951/2) S. 171-183 hat BÖHL selbst, in seinem fesselnden Stil, ziemlich viel aus seinem Leben festgehalten.

<sup>1)</sup> 1949 erweiterte BÖHL seinen Namen zu DE LIAGRE BÖHL. DE LIAGRE war der Mädchennamen seiner Grossmutter väterlicherseits (französiertes DE JAGERE). Mehrmals haben nicht des Holländischen mächtige Fachgenossen mich gefragt nach dem Sinn dieser Namensänderung. Sie mag stattgefunden haben, weil ein ebenso wie BÖHL ausgesprochenes holländisches Wort eine höchst unmenschliche Bedeutung hat.

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS  
BY E. J. BRILL, LEIDEN

BÖHL wurde am 16. August 1882 in Wien geboren. Sein Vater war der aus Hamburg stammende Professor der Dogmatik EDUARD BÖHL, seine Mutter stammte aus den Niederlanden; die Mutter EDUARD BÖHL's stammte aus Antwerpen, seine erste Frau war eine Tochter KOHLBRÜGGE's. Nachdem FRANZ BÖHL das Schottengymnasium in Wien absolviert hatte, fing er das Studium der Theologie an, wozu sich bald das Studium der Altorientalistik gesellte. Studiert hat er an verschiedenen deutschen Universitäten sowie in Paris. 1909 wurde er in Leipzig zum Dr. phil. promoviert (bei ZIMMERN), 1911 in Bonn zum Lizentiaten der Theologie (bei KÖNIG). Beide Dissertationen (*Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* bzw. *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*) stellten seine grossen Fähigkeiten unter Beweis. Die 1912 abgeschlossene Habilitationsarbeit wurde nicht zwecks Habilitation verwendet; nur ein Auszug wurde gedruckt. Weiteres wird aber posthum publiziert in *Persica* 7. Anfang 1913 wurde BÖHL als Nachfolger des 1912 gestorbenen F. J. VAN DEN HAM Ordinarius für Hebräisch und hebräische Altertümer an der Universität Groningen (neben dem Alttestamentler BLEEKER). Dort setzte eine sehr fruchtbare Lehrtätigkeit ein, kombiniert mit ebenso fruchtbarer publizistischer Tätigkeit. Praktisch erstmalig wurde in den Niederlanden Hebräisch im Lichte des Alten Orients gelehrt, auf einem bis dahin kaum erreichten Niveau. 1919 erschien von BÖHL's Hand der Band „*Het Oude Testament*“ als erster Teil des von VAN VELDHUIZEN herausgegebenen „*Bijbels-Kerkelijk woordenboek*“. Dieser Versuch, das gesamte Gebiet der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft in knappster Form zu umfassen, ist hervorragend gelungen. Das Buch stellt m.E. BÖHL's Meisterleistung dar. Ebenfalls in Zusammenarbeit mit seinem Groninger Kollegen für das Neue Testament gründete BÖHL den Bibelkommentar „*Tekst en uitleg*“. Dazu steuerte er selbst die Kommentare zu Genesis und Exodus bei, wozu sich viel später noch der Kommentar zu Psalm 1-89 gesellte (Ps. 90-150 wurden von GEMSER kommentiert).

1924 wurde er vorgetragen für eine Professur an der Amsterdamer Gemeindeuniversität (Altes Testament und Hebräisch), aber der Gemeinderat von Amsterdam hat aus Erwägungen nicht-wissenschaftlicher Art ihn nicht berufen<sup>2)</sup>.

In Leiden, wo man vor fast hundert Jahren SNOUCK HURGRONJE einen Lehrauftrag für Assyriologie zugedacht hatte — SNOUCK dürfte dieses Ansinnen entrüstet abgelehnt haben —, wurde 1913 ein Extraordinariat für dieses Fach gegründet. BÖHL, dem diese Stelle angeboten wurde, wollte sich nicht so rasch von Groningen trennen. Darauf wurde eine Vorschlagsliste aufgestellt mit den Namen G. J. THIERRY, E. KLAUBER und F. HROZNÝ.

<sup>2)</sup> Vgl. zu dieser Affäre BEEK in den *Opera minora* S. XI f. sowie in seiner Einleitung zu J. L. PALACHE, *Inleiding in de Talmoed*, 2. Auflage, Haarlem 1954, S. VIIIf.

Ernannt wurde der Theologe und Ägyptologe THIERRY; KLAUBER, der sich 1913 in Göttingen habilitiert hatte und von dem noch sehr viel erwartet werden durfte, fiel 1914 als österreichischer Offizier in Polen; HROZNÝ machte sich bald berühmt durch die Entzifferung des Hethitischen und erwarb sich später grosses Ansehen in seinem Heimatland, der Tschechoslowakei. 1927 wurde der Arabist SNOUCK HURGRONJE emeritiert und der Hebraist WENSINCK zu seinem Nachfolger ernannt; THIERRY wurde WENSINCK's Nachfolger als Hebraist und gab die Assyriologie auf zugunsten der ihm besser liegenden hebraistischen Lehrtätigkeit. Das Extraordinariat für Assyriologie wurde darauf zum Ordinariat aufgewertet und noch im selben Jahr mit BÖHL besetzt. So erhielten die Niederlande erstmalig seit dem Tode C. P. TIELE's († 1902) wieder einen Assyriologen von internationalem Ansehen.

Damit setzte die zweite Periode in BÖHL's wissenschaftlicher Laufbahn ein. Die Assyriologie, die bei ihm seit seiner Leipziger Zeit an zweiter Stelle rangiert hatte, musste jetzt seine Haupttätigkeit werden, aber das Alte Testament und die Palästinakunde haben ihn auch in Leiden noch lange Zeit stark beschäftigt (so erschien z.B. 1931 sein Buch *Palestina in het licht der jongste opgravingen en onderzoekingen* und 1946/7 sein Psalmenkommentar). Auf kirchlichem Gebiet blieb er aktiv, auch publizistisch. So ergab es sich, dass der Neuanfang im Alter von 45 Jahren doch nicht so radikal war, wie das wohl erforderlich gewesen wäre, um das Niveau der prominentesten Assyriologen in Deutschland und anderswo zu erreichen. Demgegenüber muss allerdings seine ungeheure Vielseitigkeit hervorgehoben werden, durch die er namentlich an ALBRIGHT erinnerte, und die jetzt von niemandem mehr erreicht wird. Wer seine privaten Zettelkästen gesehen hat, weiss, dass er sich dadurch ausser der Assyriologie auch das Alte Testament, die Palästinakunde, die Ägyptologie und die Religionswissenschaft weitgehend erschlossen hatte — wahrscheinlich besser als mancher Fachspezialist auf diesen Gebieten.

BÖHL's Name bleibt verbunden mit der Leidener Tontafelsammlung. Den Grundstock bildete die von ihm gekaufte Sammlung PEISER, aber BÖHL hat diese Sammlung sehr stark erweitert (vgl. *Symbolae De Liagre Böhl*, S. 214 ff.).

1933 beteiligte BÖHL sich an der Gründung von „Ex Oriente Lux“, 1939 an der Gründung des „Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten“. Die Initiative ging in beiden Fällen von KAMPMAN aus, aber BÖHL hat sich für diese Stiftungen energisch eingesetzt. Ähnliches gilt von der 1943 gegründeten Zeitschrift *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.

BÖHL's Publikationen wurden aufgezählt in *Opera minora* S. 534-549 und in *Symbolae De Liagre Böhl* S. 412-416 (insgesamt 321 Nummern).

Anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstages wurden ihm vier Hefte aus *BiOr* 9 und 10 gewidmet. Die *Symbolae De Liagre Böhl* erschienen anlässlich seines 90. Geburtstages.



BÖHL hat viele Schüler gehabt, die sich dankbar an ihn erinnern, hauptsächlich natürlich Theologen und Orientalisten. Seine Promovenden waren B. GEMSER (1924), Professor in Pretoria und Groningen, dem BÖHL in *Phoenix* 9/I einen Nachruf widmete, A. A. KAMPMAN (1945, vgl. den Nachruf in *BiOr* 34/I-II), B. A. VAN PROOSDIJ (1952). R. FRANKENA (1953, Professor in Utrecht vgl. den Nachruf in *BiOr* 31/III-VI), J. J. A. VAN DIJK (1953, Professor am Päpstlichen Bibelinstitut) und zuletzt der Autor dieses Nachrufs (1954).

Nach seiner Emeritierung (1953) zog er sich zurück nach Milsbeek, wo die Familie seiner Mutter ein Landgut besass. Hier hat er noch viele Jahre gearbeitet und die Entwicklung verschiedener Disziplinen verfolgt, obwohl im *kikkišu* von Milsbeek nur für einen kleinen Teil seiner grossen Privatbibliothek Platz war. Verschiedene Schüler haben ihn dort gern besucht und bei ihren Besuchen gestaunt, wie wenig das steigende Alter ihm anhaben konnte. Seine Handschrift blieb bis zuletzt regelmässig und schön. Die Erwartung, dass er, wie die Ägyptologin MARGARET MURRAY, eine Autobiographie würde schreiben können unter dem Titel "*Meine ersten hundert Jahre*", hat sich nicht erfüllt. Er war jedoch, seit dem Tode WATERMAN's, der Senior der Altorientalistik.

Ein fruchtbares und harmonisches Leben im Dienste der Wissenschaft ist jetzt abgeschlossen. Nicht wenige Arbeiten, die BÖHL auf deutsch oder auf holländisch geschrieben hat — beide Sprachen hat er zeitlebens geradezu literarisch schön und perfekt in seinen Publikationen und Vorträgen verwendet — werden noch lange Zeit die Erinnerung an ihn wachhalten.

Göttingen, Dezember 1977

R. BORGER

## MESOPOTAMIAN CYLINDER SEALS IN THE ALLARD PIERSON MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

### Introduction\*

The following contains notes on a collection of Mesopotamian cylinder seals belonging to the Allard Pierson Museum of the University of Amsterdam. The majority of these were acquired for the museum by HENRI FRANKFORT; he bought them in Baghdad in 1935<sup>1)</sup>. The nos. 39-41 were given to the museum by the late Mrs. M. A. LEVELT-HOOGVELT at the occasion of the re-opening of the museum in modern accommodations in October 1976. The nos. 4, 7, 8, 17, 25 and 27 were a gift from Mr. G. TURNER (Amsterdam). Thus none stem from regular excavations. FRANKFORT wrote a short communication in Dutch on twelve of the cylinders he bought<sup>2)</sup>. Some were used in various articles by Mrs. E. D. VAN BUREN, and R. M. BOEHMER published some of the Akkad seals.

The seals are here presented roughly in chronological order. A description is in most cases followed by a few remarks<sup>3)</sup> giving parallels where useful and possible. A tentative date for each seal is given, followed, if applicable, by references to earlier publication of the seal. The dates follow the scheme usually employed in Mesopotamian art history, and are rough and of limited value.

No attempt has been made to assign seals to sub-phases within the Akkad period (which lasted ca. 180 years) as the writer is not convinced that there are enough absolute data to turn the admirable stylistic analysis that Dr BOEHMER undertook<sup>4)</sup> into a chronological one.

\*) Many thanks are due to Prof. PH. H. J. HOUWINK TEN CATE, who originally urged me to write these pages. I am grateful to Prof. J. M. HEMELRIJK for permission to publish the seals, and to his staff for their unstinting help. Mrs. B. PARKER (London) graciously discussed some of the seals with me. Prof. H. LIMET (Liège) has been kind enough to furnish the translation of the inscription on no. 37. Also Mr. W. VAN SOLDT (Amsterdam) was very helpful.

My debt to Prof. M. N. VAN LOON is great; his expert guidance headed off many disasters. Of course any remaining inaccuracies are solely my own responsibility.

Mr. G. STRIETMAN (A. P. Museum) took the photographs of nos. 4, 8, 17, 25 and 27; earlier museum photographs are nos. 15 and 37. All others were taken by the writer, who thanks Mr. F. GIJBELS (Amsterdam) for his help in printing them.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. *JEOL* 3, 1935, p. 153.

<sup>2)</sup> *JEOL* 3, 1935, p. 153-157, pls. XV-XVI.

<sup>3)</sup> A bare minimum of introductory information has sometimes been added for the benefit of visitors to the museum, who will be able to obtain off-prints of this article.

<sup>4)</sup> R. M. BOEHMER, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit* (Berlin 1965).



## Some abbreviations

<i>AnOr</i> 18	E. D. VAN BUREN, The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia. Analecta Orientalia 18, Rome 1939.
<i>AP</i>	Allard Pierson (Museum).
<i>Ashmolean</i>	B. BUCHANAN, Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum. Oxford 1966.
<i>BJV</i>	Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte. Berlin 1960—.
<i>CANES I</i>	E. PORADA, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections, I: The Pierpont Morgan Library Collection. Washington (D.C.) 1948.
<i>CS</i>	H. FRANKFORT, Cylinder Seals. London 1939.
<i>EGA</i>	R. M. BOEHMER, Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit. Berlin 1965.
<i>Geneva</i>	M.-L. VOLLENWEIDER, Catalogue Raisonné des Sceaux Cylindres et Intailles, vol. I. Geneva 1967.
<i>Glyp. Sus.</i>	P. AMIET, Glyptique Susienne. Paris 1972.
<i>GMA</i>	P. AMIET, La Glyptique Mésopotamienne Archaïque. Paris 1961.
<i>JEOL</i>	Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux. Leiden 1933—.
<i>Louvre</i>	L. DELAPORTE, Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux; vol I Fouilles et Missions, vol. II Acquisitions (A-numbers). Paris 1920, 1923.
<i>MAM</i>	A. PARROT, Mission Archéologique de Mari. Paris 1956—.
<i>Moore</i>	G. EISEN, Ancient Oriental Cylindres and other Seals with a description of the Collection of Mrs. W. H. Moore. Chicago 1940.
<i>Newell</i>	H. H. VON DER OSTEN, Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. E. T. NEWELL. Chicago 1934.
<i>Nuzi</i>	E. PORADA, Seal Impressions of Nuzi. New Haven 1947.
<i>OIP</i>	Oriental Institute Publications. The University of Chicago.
<i>Or</i>	Orientalia. Nova Series. Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. Roma 1931—.
<i>SCS</i>	H. FRANKFORT, Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region. Chicago 1955.
<i>UE</i>	Ur Excavations. Archaeological Series; II: L. WOOLLEY, The Royal Cemetery. London 1934. III: L. LEGRAIN, Archaic Seal Impressions. London 1936. X: L. LEGRAIN, Seal Cylinders. London 1951.
<i>VARs</i>	A. MOORTGAT, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel. Berlin 1940.

## List of Museum numbers

6351	3	6364	42	6376	10
6352	5	6365	2	6377	33
6353	11	6366	6	6378	48
6354	15	6367	16	6379	20
6355	14	6368	43	6380	28
6356	12	6369	49	6381	21
6357	13	6370	35	6282	22
6358	23	6371	34	6383	32
6359	18	6372	31	6384	24
6360	29	6373	30	6385	38
6361	36	6374	44	6386	50
6362	45	6375	46	6387	19

6388	37	9259	39	9343	8
6389	26	9260	41	9344	25
6390	1	9261	40	9346	17
6391	47	9341	27	9347	4
6392	9	9342	7		

## No. 1 (PL. I)

Mat.: brown agate

Prov.: bought Baghdad 1935

Meas.: length 1, 5, diam. 1, 4 cm

Inv. no.: 6390

*Descr.*: Three pigtailed women, all facing left, are shown sitting on mat-like objects. Between the second and the third, two objects above each other, both consisting of a large drill-hole crowned by two small ones. Two more of the same.

*Remarks*: Many seals of this kind are known, all characterized by the drill-hole technique, but figures and objects are often too summarily drawn to be identifiable. In some cases spinning seems to be the women's activity (e.g. *Ashmolean* 17); in others, they are associated with pottery vessels (e.g. *CANES* I 8; *CS* VIII<sup>d</sup>; *SCS* 480).

The women on the Amsterdam seal all have straight objects in their laps, perhaps hand looms or parts of distaffs (cf. *Ashmolean* 17).

The objects represented by the three drill-holes occur frequently <sup>5)</sup>, and are also found inverted <sup>6)</sup>, or as a large blob surrounded by three or four smaller ones <sup>7)</sup>. On the present seal the big drill-holes have little 'stabilizers' at floor level <sup>8)</sup>.

*Date*: Uruk/Jemdet Nasr, ca. 3300-2900 BC.<sup>9)</sup>

## No. 2 (PL. I)

Mat.: white limestone

Prov.: bought Baghdad 1935

Meas.: 2, 1 × 1, 6 cm

Inv. no.: 6365

*Descr.*: The impression shows a temple front, a fish and a goat with short horns. The stone is markedly worn to one side at both perforation ends.

*Remarks*: Already during the earliest period of Mesopotamian glyptic a common theme was the herd of bovines or caprines associated with a temple <sup>10)</sup>.

<sup>5)</sup> E.g. *CANES* I 12; *CS* pl. VIII<sup>d</sup>; *Ashmolean* 14, 15, 18, 22.

<sup>6)</sup> E.g. *CANES* I, 16; *SCS* 234; *Ashmolean* 15, 18; *VARs* Abb. 36, 41; *MDOG* 105, 1973, p. 31 Abb. 9.

<sup>7)</sup> E.g. *Ashmolean* 18; *VARs* 36. P. AMIET (*GMA* p. 102-3) tends to an identification of these objects as jars.

<sup>8)</sup> Cf. *CANES* I 9, 12; *Ashmolean* 14<sup>e</sup>; *SCS* 64, 195, 198.

<sup>9)</sup> See note 11.

<sup>10)</sup> E.g. *VARs* Abb. 6, 7, 8; *Ashmolean* 20-24. For the identification of the buildings as temples, see E. HEINRICH, *Bauwerke in der altsumerischen Bildkunst* (Wiesbaden 1957) pp. 38-48.



Such scenes of the Uruk period were then modified in the Jemdet Nasr period <sup>11)</sup>. This Amsterdam seal is an example of a 'Jemdet Nasr' adaptation of the scene, whose ultimate development is the kind of stylization shown by *AP* 6351 (no. 3) <sup>12)</sup>.

The incisions on this seal have been cut with the cutting-disc; this usage of one instrument, perhaps a manifestation of 'industrialization' caused by increasing demand <sup>13)</sup>, led to an easily recognizable style of which especially the Diyala region produced many examples <sup>14)</sup>. *SCS* 73 and 74, from Sin temple IV at Khafaje, are reasonable parallels, although the goat's horns are longer and the fish is missing.

*Date*: Uruk/Jemdet Nasr, ca. 3300-2900 BC.

### No. 3 (PL. I)

*Mat.*: green serpentine

*Meas.*: 2, 3 (engraved part 1, 4) × 1, 1 cm

*Prov.*: bought Baghdad 1935

*Inv. No.*: 6351

*Descr.*: Unperforated cylinder showing fish-like creatures alternating with single and double ladder designs. Broken loop on top in the form of an animal.

*Remarks*: Both motif and execution of this seal are well known. With FRANKFORT one may hesitate to identify the individual figures <sup>15)</sup>, but the scene must have a general connotation of fauna probably associated with the temple. Fish in a pond or grains of wheat near a temple (e.g. *SCS* 179) or goats alternating with plants <sup>16)</sup> are possible explanations.

*Date*: Uruk/Jemdet Nasr, ca. 3300-2900 BC. <sup>17)</sup>

*Bibl.*: H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935, pl. XV<sup>1</sup>.

### No. 4 (PL. I)

*Mat.*: green serpentine

*Meas.*: 1, 1 × 1, 1 cm

*Prov.*: gift from Mr. G. Turner

*Inv. no.*: 9347

*Descr.*: "Spider design" and unidentifiable drill-holes.

*Remarks*: Perhaps one may identify the smaller drill-holes as pottery ves-

<sup>11)</sup> Recently a renewed discussion has arisen on the distinction of these periods and their artistic output, especially in view of the recent excavations in Northern Syria at Habuba Kebira, and also at Jebel 'Aruda (oral communication from Dr. G. VAN DRIEL, Leiden). See e.g. H. J. NISSEN, 'Zur Frage der Arbeitsorganisation in Babylonien während der Spät-Uruk Zeit', in: *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22, 1974, p. 6 note 6.

<sup>12)</sup> Cf. *CS* p. 33.

<sup>13)</sup> Thus FRANKFORT, *CS* p. 33.

<sup>14)</sup> E.g. *SCS* 14, 16(1), 29, 30, 31, 41, 42.

<sup>15)</sup> *JEOL*, 3 1935 p. 154.

<sup>16)</sup> *SCS* 16 seems to show a temple front and stylized goats, providing a transition between the figurative (cf. *AP* 6365; no. 2) and the geometric styles. *SCS* 143-145 show spiders, cf. *Louvre A* 113, and also *Louvre T* 7.

<sup>17)</sup> see note 11.

sels in view of the similarity to e.g. *SCS* 64 and 870 (cf. under *AP* 6390; no. 1). Designs of this kind are purely decorative, and typical of the 'Jemdet Nasr' seals.

*Date*: Uruk/Jemdet Nasr period, ca. 3300-2900 BC.

### No. 5 (PL. I)

*Mat.*: black limestone

*Meas.*: 2, 3 × 1, 1 cm

*Prov.*: bought Baghdad 1935

*Inv. no.*: 6352

*Descr.*: Frieze of four-pointed star and half-star, and two long-horned animals (ibexes), whose forelegs are straight and hindlegs bent. Tails point upward.

*Remarks*: Incisions made quickly with the disc wheel result in lentoid straight lines. Also the horns on this seal have been executed this way. A succession of mainly diagonal lines thus incised interweaving gave rise to the name "Brocade Style" <sup>18)</sup>. On the basis of the excavations in the Diyala region, FRANKFORT could date the style locally to the First Early Dynastic period, but it is difficult to draw the line between Jemdet Nasr and Early Dynastic I in animal friezes <sup>19)</sup>; perhaps one may say that where the animals' heads are more elaborately executed, a date in the earlier period is probable (cf., for the Diyala region, *SCS* pl. 9 with pls. 22, 23 nos. 226, 230, 232, 235 etc.). There is no way of checking these data against other sites, as the stratified examples available derive mainly from the Diyala region and Kish <sup>20)</sup>.

*Date*: Jemdet Nasr or ED I, ca. 3000-2800 BC.

*Bibl.*: H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935, p. 154 f., pl. XV<sup>2</sup>.

### No. 6 (PL. I)

*Mat.*: Chlorite

*Meas.*: 6, 6 × 1, 3 cm

*Prov.*: bought Baghdad 1935

*Inv. no.*: 6366

*Descr.*: An upper and a lower frieze are almost interwoven, the lower consisting of a long-horned goat with stretched hindlegs, the upper inverted one of a similar goat with all fours bent. Both friezes have alternating eye designs as space fillers at body height and an antithetical pair of moon crescents at the level of the heads; elsewhere a double moon crescent. The goats' horns and legs are laddered.

*Remarks*: This seal provides an excellent illustration of the Brocade Style (Cf *AP* 6352; no. 5). In design and execution, the Amsterdam seal may be

<sup>18)</sup> FRANKFORT coined the phrase: *JEOL* 3, 1935 p. 154; *CS* p. 39 f. On the disc wheel see H. J. NISSEN in: *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 6, 1978), p. 16 ff.

<sup>19)</sup> See e.g. *SCS* 71 from Sin Temple IV in Khafaje; cf. BUCHANAN, *Ashmolean* p. 18.

<sup>20)</sup> Three examples from Ur are all without clear context. See *UE X* nos. 74 (?), 75 (?) and 82. For Kish the best examples are *Ashmolean* 81, 83, 84, 86, 92 and 93.



compared with SCS 232, which however does not have the ladder design in legs and horns, features that seem to lead FRANKFORT to assume a rather early date in the period for the Amsterdam cylinder <sup>21</sup>).

*Date:* ED I, ca. 2900-2750 BC.

*Bibl.:* FRANKFORT, SCS p. 23 fig. 2.

#### No. 7 (PL. I)

*Mat.:* shell  
*Meas.:* 3, 9 × 1, 0 cm

*Prov.:* gift from Mr. G. Turner  
*Inv. no.:* 9342

*Descr.:* A large bovine and an ibex form an animal frieze. Above the bovine's rear (?) and under its belly are four-pointed stars.

*Remarks:* The identification of the animals is tentative. The modeling is rough and the seal damaged. 'Brocade Style'.

*Date:* ED I, ca. 2900-2750 BC.

#### No. 8 (PL. I)

*Mat.:* white limestone  
*Meas.:* 2, 3 × 1, 5 cm

*Prov.:* gift from Mr. G. Turner  
*Inv. no.:* 9343

*Descr.:* Contest scene involving five figures: hero holds two gazelles, each one being attacked by a rampant lion. Two scorpions in double register border the scene. Damaged.

*Remarks:* In style this seal is close to e.g. SCS 489, which is probably to be dated to the second Early Dynastic period. The same date may be assigned to this Amsterdam seal. For contest scenes, cf. AP 6353 (no. 11).

*Date:* ED II, ca. 2750-2600 BC.

#### No. 9 (PL. I)

*Mat.:* lapis lazuli  
*Meas.:* 1, 8 × 1, 0 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6392

*Descr.:* To the right of a palm-tree trunk (?) a seated figure drinks from a vessel through a reed. A small figure stands in front of him. A naked hero fights with a lion; a dagger and an unidentifiable triangle fill the rest of the scene.

*Remarks:* The palm-tree, whose top is obliterated by damage, is presumably cut into an earlier design. The seal makes an unfinished impression; the seated figure's dress and the hollow heads allow a date in the second or third Early Dynastic period.

The small figure may represent either a servant or a child.

*Date:* ED II or III<sup>a</sup>, ca. 2700-2500 BC.

<sup>21</sup>) Implied in SCS p. 22.

#### No. 10 (PL. I)

*Mat.:* white limestone  
*Meas.:* 2, 2 × 0, 8 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6376

*Descr.:* Scene in two registers: the upper register shows a geometrical pattern representing a herd of sheep or goats; the lower register, separated from the first by a triple line, is a banquet scene involving two seated figures drinking through reeds from a centrally placed vat. A servant (?) stands in front of one of the symposiasts, while behind the other a temple-front (?) is depicted. Double borderlines at bottom, triple at top.

*Remarks:* In the case of a combination with an animal frieze, placing the banquet scene in the lower register is contrary to usual practice, but it does occur <sup>22</sup>). Most excavated two-frieze seals showing a banquet scene stem from Ur, and it is by comparison with such seals as U 19578 and U 19119 <sup>23</sup>) that we propose to interpret the upper register as a herd of goats. Their stylized rendering on the Amsterdam seal is somewhat reminiscent of the Brocade Style of the First Early Dynastic period (cf. e.g. AP 6352: no. 5), but the seal certainly belongs in the first half of the Third Early Dynastic. *Ashmolean* 230 and 234 are superficial parallels.

*Date:* ED III<sup>a</sup>, ca. 2600-2500 BC.

#### No. 11 (PL. I)

*Mat.:* white limestone  
*Meas.:* 2, 2 × 1, 2 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6353

*Descr.:* Two lions with raised tails antithetically tear away at the inverted carcass of a ram or goat, while a man wearing a skirt drives his short spear into one lion's neck. Space-filler: a dagger.

*Remarks:* The representation of herdsmen protecting their flocks against rampant carnivores occurs from the second Early Dynastic period onward. Its popularity increases in the third, and reaches its climax during the rule of the kings of Akkad <sup>24</sup>).

The *horror vacui* that is typical for the second and third Early Dynastic periods is here manifest in the large curve of the carcass' horns and the space-filler (the dagger was often used as such in these periods). The inverted representation of animals signified their decease.

The herring-bone pattern here used for the goat's coat of hair is rather rare, and more often used in lion's manes of the 'Meskalamdug phase' <sup>25</sup>).

<sup>22</sup>) Cf. *AnOr* 18, pl. XI<sup>50</sup>; also C. E. KEISER, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies*, II (New Haven 1920) pl. 74<sup>e</sup>; and *Glyp. Sus*, no. 1453.

<sup>23</sup>) *UE* X, nos. 121 and 119 respectively. Cf. also *CANES* I 105 and 108.

<sup>24</sup>) FRANKFORT (*CS* p. 22, 58) derives the motif from Uruk-period representations. Cf. AP 9343 (no. 8), for an ED II example.

<sup>25</sup>) For the lion's manes, cf. e.g. *UE* II, seals 64, 65. For dating seals of this period, see



Date: ED III<sup>a</sup>, ca. 2600-2500 BC.

Bibl.: H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935, pl. XV<sup>3</sup>; idem, *CS* pl. XV<sup>1</sup>.

### No. 12 (PL. II)

Mat.: white limestone

Meas.: 3, 6 × 2, 1 cm

Prov.: bought Baghdad 1935

Inv. no.: 6356

*Descr.*: Half of a vertically broken seal. The field is divided in half by a double horizontal incision. The upper register shows a boat with curled prow and two men in fringed garments, a helmsman and a punter. A large bird is connected to the prow with a rope. The lower register shows fish, a turtle and a crab.

*Remarks*: This seal's remaining half has a unique scene, the clue to whose meaning must lie in the other half. Are we to interpret it as a hunting scene in the Mesopotamian marshes, with the 'field-divider' representing the surface of the water, and the lower register showing life under water? In that case this seal is all the more unique, giving an early example in Mesopotamian glyptic of a secular landscape scene, whereas most early landscapes show temple herds in their pastures<sup>26</sup>). Then also the line connecting boat and bird may be interpreted as a lasso, with which the punter has just caught a water-fowl<sup>27</sup>). Perhaps the animal is a decoy, tied to the boat; in that case, the fowler with his weapon or net must have been shown elsewhere on the seal. As the use of decoy birds is attested<sup>28</sup>) we favor the latter explanation.

The boat is of the reed-built variety still known today<sup>29</sup>).

Date: ED III, ca. 2600-2350 B.C.

Bibl.: H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935, pl. XV<sup>6</sup>; E. D. VAN BUREN, *AfO* 12, 1937/9 p. 13; idem, *AnOr* 18, fig. 101; P. AMIET, *GMA*, no. 1131; A. SALONEN, *Vögel und Vögelfang*. . . (Helsinki 1973) pl. 70<sup>6</sup>; idem, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien* (Studia Orientalia VIII, 4, Helsingfors 1939), Tf. IV no. 4.

### No. 13 (PL. II)

Mat.: white limestone

Meas.: 2, 4 × 1, 4 cm

Prov.: bought Baghdad 1935

Inv. no.: 6357

*Descr.*: Half of a vertically broken seal. A standing figure is dressed in a triple-fringed skirt, has a chignon and perhaps a beard. In his left hand he

R. M. BOEHMER, 'Zur Glyptik zwischen Mesilim- und Akkad-Zeit (Early Dynastic III)', in *ZA* 59, 1969, pp. 261-292.

<sup>26</sup>) On ancient Mesopotamian landscape scenes, see M. RUTTEN, 'Le Paysage dans l'art de la Mésopotamie ancienne', *Syria* 22, 1941, pp. 137-154. It must be said that H. FRANKFORT (*JEOL* 3, 1935, p. 155), followed by E. D. VAN BUREN (*AnOr* 18, p. 97) interprets the animals in the lower register as land-animals: mice, a lizard and a scorpion.

<sup>27</sup>) E. D. VAN BUREN (*AnOr* 18, p. 92) identifies the bird as a heron, and A. SALONEN (*Vögel und Vögelfang*. . . , p. 88) follows her.

<sup>28</sup>) A. SALONEN, *Vögel und Vögelfang*. . . , p. 23, 29 f.

<sup>29</sup>) E. g. W. THESIGER, *The Marsh Arabs* (Harmondsworth 1967), pl. 48.

holds a corn-stalk. In front of him, the field is crowded indiscriminately with waves of water, a fish, a scorpion, an ibex (front part damaged) and a cow suckling a calf. In the upper right hand corner a long-necked bird and a moon crescent<sup>30</sup>); in front of the cow branches of a plant.

*Remarks*: The standing fertility-deity (or king in a ritual function) is rarer than his seated counterpart (e.g. *AP* 6355; no. 14). Identification with a particular god cannot be attempted<sup>31</sup>), and it is probable that various deities could be adorned with vegetal attributes, certainly in the Akkadian period<sup>32</sup>).

Although half of this seal is missing, the design can be called unique for both its subject matter and the way the elements are arranged in the field.

Date: ED III, ca. 2600-2350 BC.

Bibl.: H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935 pl. XV<sup>7</sup>; idem *CS*, pl. XV<sup>h</sup>; E. D. VAN BUREN, *AfO* 12, 1937/9 p. 15 fig. 15; idem, *AnOr* 18, fig. 99; idem, *Iraq* 10, 1948, pl. XV<sup>1</sup>; A. SALONEN, *Vögel und Vögelfang*. . . (Helsinki 1973), pl. 70<sup>5</sup>; P. AMIET, *GMA*, no. 1141.

### No. 14 (PL. II)

Mat.: rock-crystal

Meas.: 2, 2 × 1, 4 cm

Prov.: bought Baghdad 1935

Inv. no.: 6355

*Descr.*: In a crowded offering scene, a man in a flounced skirt carries a goat toward a biconical offering table on which a naked attendant arranges loaves of bread and a fowl. At the offering table, a seated figure holds a corn-stalk; his hair is done up in a chignon. A moon crescent, sun star and a scorpion border the scene, and a spear stands in the field.

*Remarks*: The worshiper offering a goat or kid is a well known motif and was the subject of an article by A. PARROT<sup>33</sup>). The nude figure, a priest, arranges the food offerings on the table or altar from whose top two lines go down, perhaps to be interpreted as a tablecloth. The table stands on a podium which also supports the seated figure's feet, but not his chair<sup>34</sup>).

There is room for some doubt concerning the seated figure's sex. That it is a vegetation deity is implied by the corn-stalk; the figure seems to be bare-

<sup>30</sup>) The bird is identified as a goose in *AnOr* 18, p. 94; cf. A. SALONEN, *Vögel u. Vögelfang*, p. 89.

<sup>31</sup>) The uncertainty shown by FRANKFORT (*JEOL* 3, 1935, p. 155 and *CS* p. 4, 71: "Tammuz"; *CS* p. 124: Ea (?)) has not been lifted since.

<sup>32</sup>) See *EGA* pp. 94-97 and Tf. XLV-XLVII, esp. Abb. 541; cf. *SCS* 582.

<sup>33</sup>) A. PARROT, 'Le Bon Pasteur', in *Mélanges Syriens*. . . R. Dussaud, vol. I, 1939, p. 171-182; see also E. D. VAN BUREN, 'An enlargement on a given theme', in *Or.* 20, 1951, p. 13-69.

<sup>34</sup>) This is contrary to later usage (from the Akkad period onward), where a podium supports both seat and feet—perhaps suggesting a statue as the object of the ritual. In Early Dynastic times, a podium is rarely depicted, but does occur: *OIP* 44 pls. 110 and 105.

cheded, but that may be due to simplification on the seal-cutter's part. In support of the deity being male we can adduce *AP* 6357 (no. 13)<sup>35)</sup>.

This seal is one of a relatively small number from the Third Early Dynastic period that have a coherent theme<sup>36)</sup>, and it is executed in the typically undifferentiated relief of the period, which had a tendency to crowd scenes without much attempt at compository balance. The deity's seat has a parallel in *CANES* I 130.

*Date*: ED III, ca. 2600-2350 BC.

*Bibl.*: H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935, pl. XV<sup>5</sup>; idem, *CS* pl. XV<sup>k</sup>; E. D. VAN BUREN, *Afo* 12, 1937, fig. 14; idem, *Or* 20, 1951, pl. I fig. 6; idem, *Or* 24, 1955, pl. 38 fig. 8; P. AMIET, *GMA*, no. 1327.

### No. 15 (PL. II)

*Mat.*: white limestone  
*Meas.*: 3, 1 × 1, 9 cm

*Prov.*: bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.*: 6354

*Descr.*: A bullman and a nude hero, both bearded and facing us, are grappling with each other; between them is a scorpion. To the right a gazelle, head turned back, fights a bald-headed man dressed in a short skirt who is shown in profile. To their right the gazelle's young is almost trampled by a circle of four running or dancing men, each one holding a dagger in his left hand and the left ankle of the man in front with his right. Bottom and top rather worn.

*Remarks*: Contest scenes are well known, but in this case a rare combination in one scene of a bearded naked hero and a bald one seen in profile occurs. The left pair of contestants seems to have a unique element in the way the hero hooks his right arm over the raised left arm of the bull-man<sup>37)</sup>; he tries to stab him in the stomach with a dagger.

The most striking motif on this seal is the circle of men, to which no other parallel than the one already found by FRANKFORT is known to me<sup>38)</sup>. That Ur seal impression shows a contest scene consisting of six figures, a similar circle of dagger-brandishing men and an inscription mentioning Mesannepadda<sup>39)</sup>.

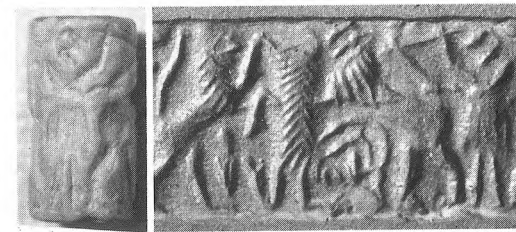
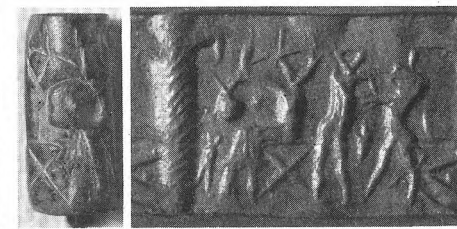
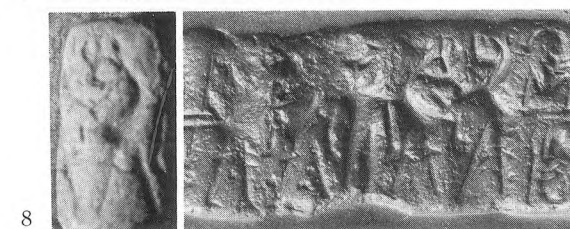
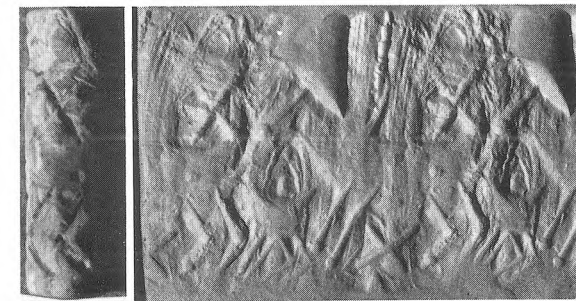
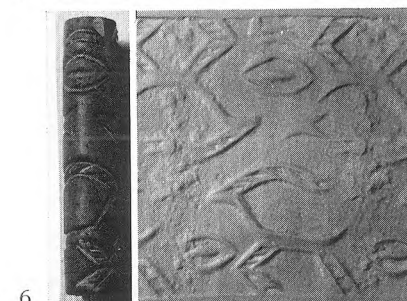
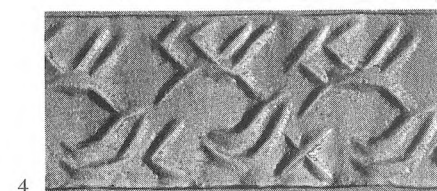
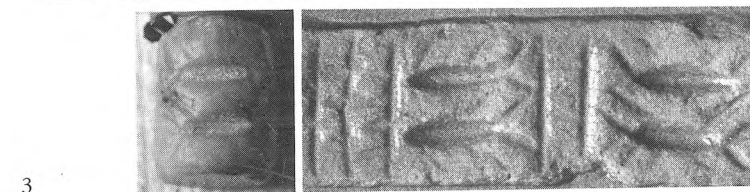
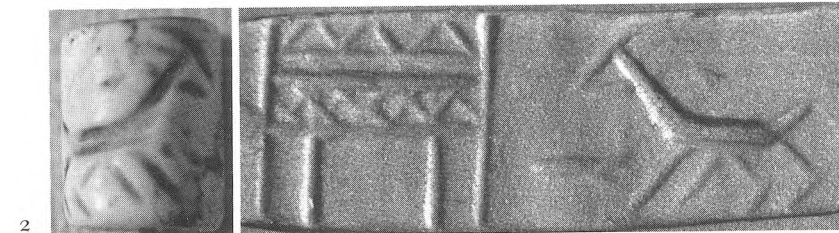
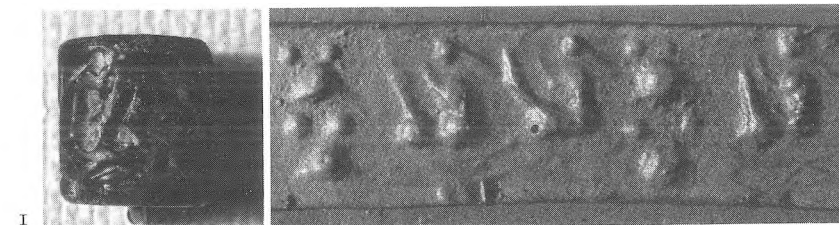
<sup>35)</sup> Both FRANKFORT (*JEOL* 3, 1935, p. 155, and *CS* p. 74) and E. D. VAN BUREN tended to call the deity female. Cf. Mrs. VAN BUREN's treatment in *Afo* 12, 1937, p. 14 (male) and *Or* 20, 1951, p. 28 and *Or* 24, 1954, p. 354 (female).

<sup>36)</sup> *CS* p. 50, 57.

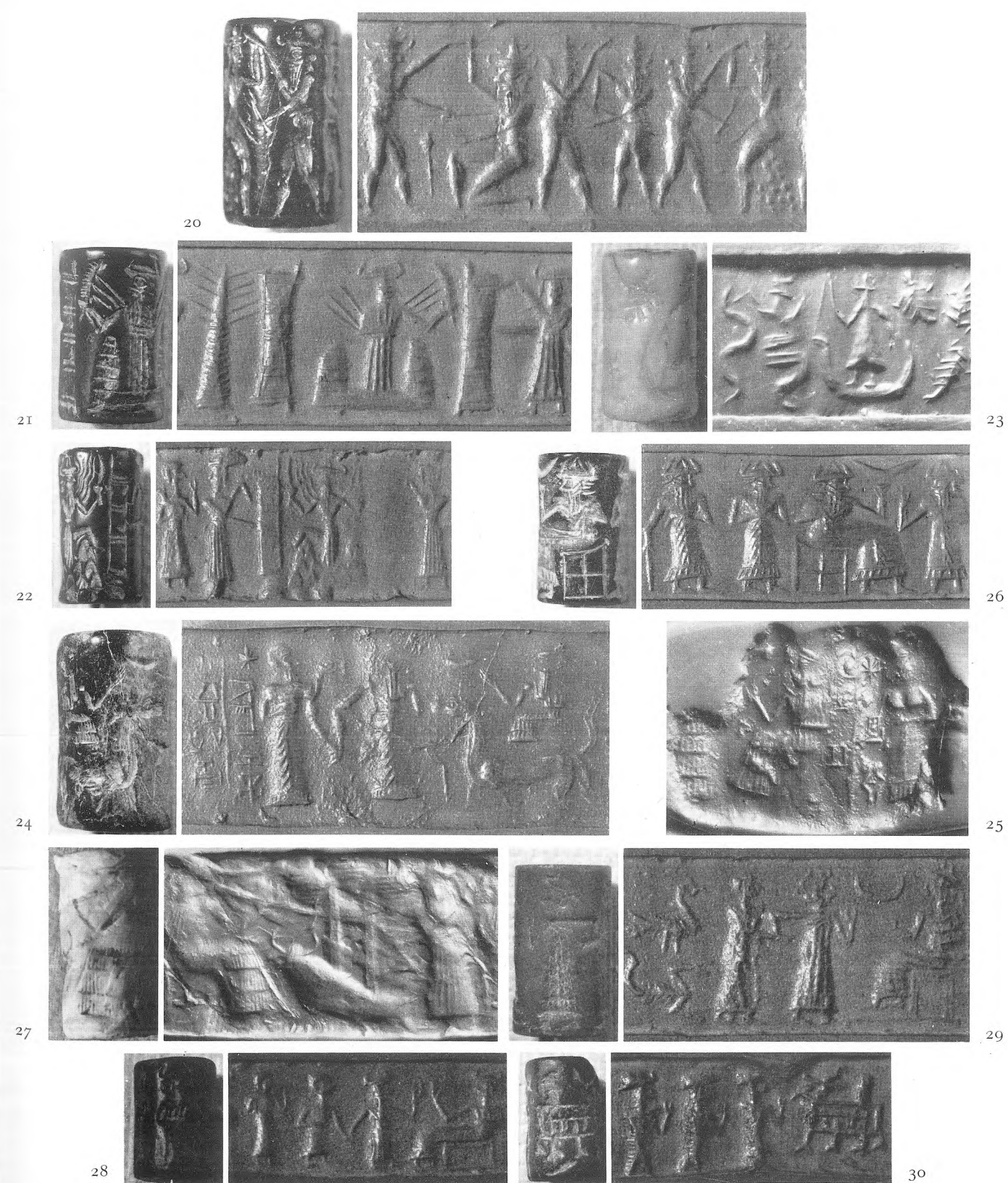
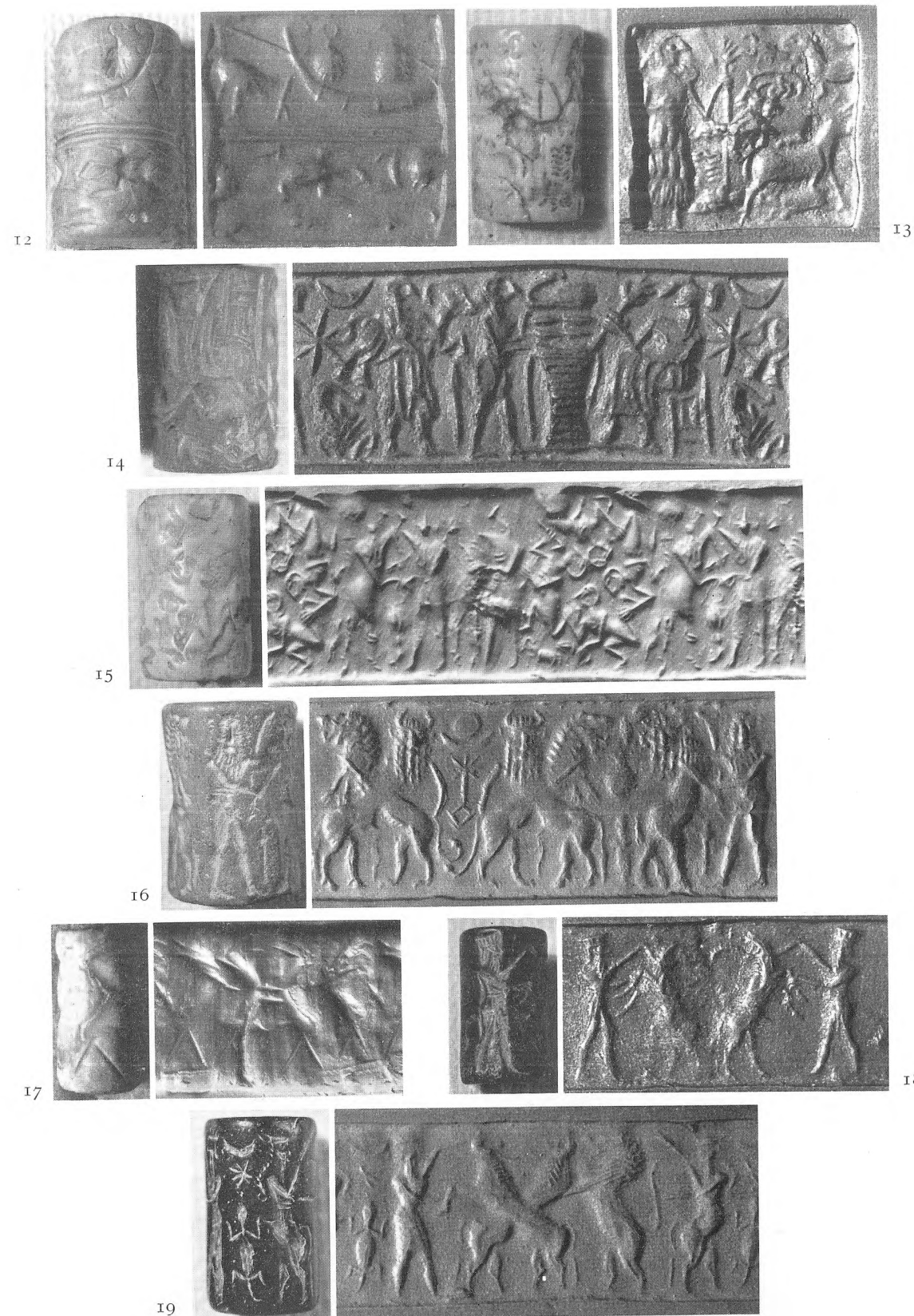
<sup>37)</sup> In *JEOL* 3, 1935, p. 155, FRANKFORT calls him "bull-man"; in his drawing in *Art and Architecture* (p. 39, fig. 16<sup>b</sup>) he shows a bearded bull with more or less human arms. Close scrutiny of the seal, however, suggests a bull with a human bearded face seen *en face*; there is no trace of a horn.

<sup>38)</sup> *JEOL* 3, 1935, p. 155, cf. *CS* p. 55 note 2. The seal impression(s) seem to have been found in *SIS* 1: *UE* II p. 312 (cf. catalogue p. 588<sup>a</sup>: "in loose soil") = *UE* III p. 44 (The heading of the catalogue in *UE* III p. 17 should be corrected accordingly). See *UE* III pls. 30 and 57; Exc. no. U 13607.

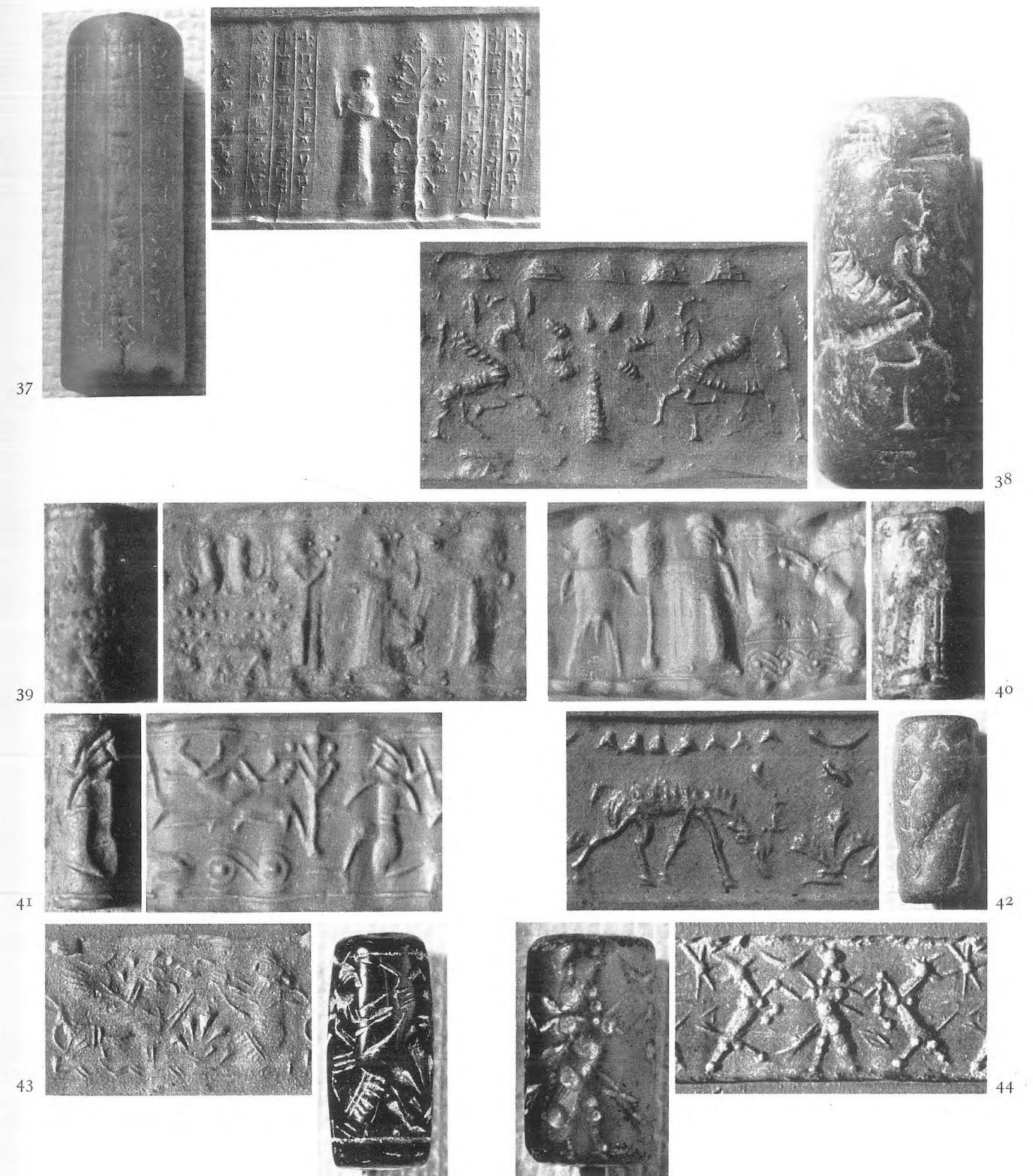
<sup>39)</sup> *UE* II p. 312 f.



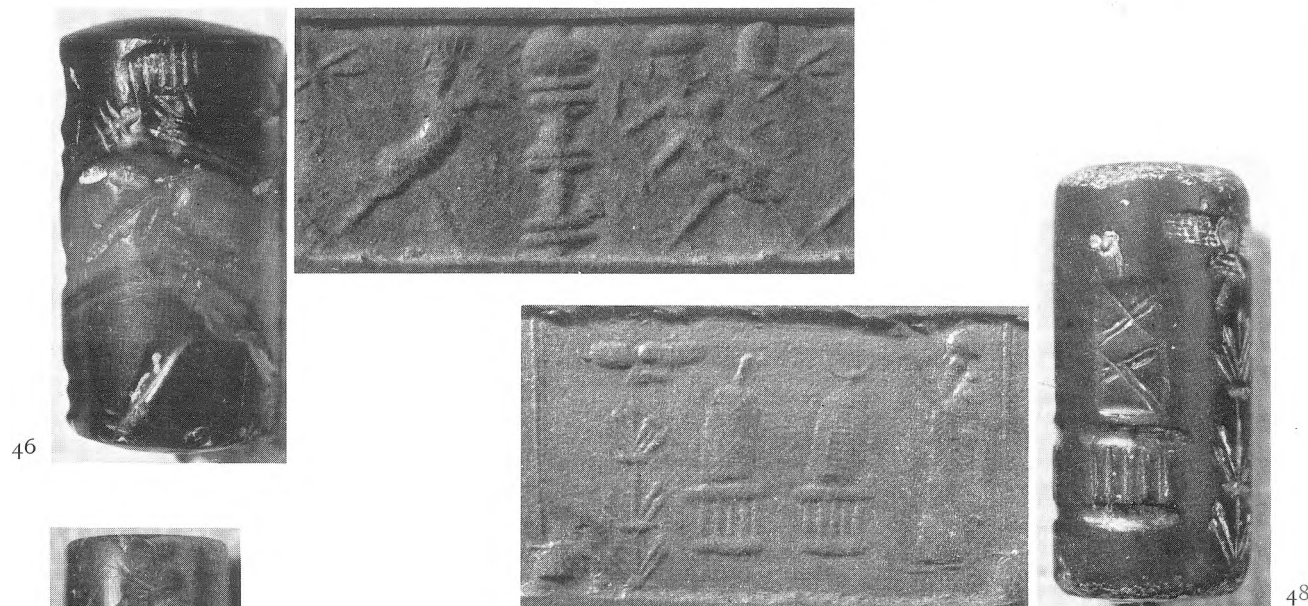
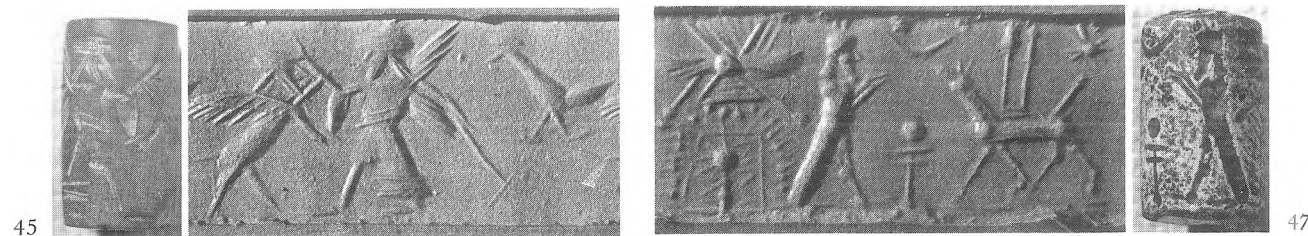












Although both impressions show the circle (probably depicting a festive or cult-dance), there are differences in their direction and in the men's hair styles. The date of the Ur impression is fixed by the name of the ruler; the Amsterdam seal may be dated to roughly the same phase or very slightly later in view of the bull-man's tail and tufts of hair at his legs <sup>40</sup>).

*Date:* ED III<sup>b</sup>, ca. 2500-2400 BC.

*Bibl.:* H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935, pl. XV<sup>4</sup>; idem, CS pl. XIV<sup>h</sup>; idem, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*; (Harmondsworth 1954) p. 39; E. D. VAN BUREN, *AfO* 12, 1937/9, p. 13; P. AMIET, *GMA*, no. 1081.

#### No. 16 (PL. II)

*Mat.:* white limestone  
*Meas.:* 4, 5 × 3, 2 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6367

*Descr.:* Six-figure contest scene consisting of two symmetrical pairs of urinating bull-men crossed with rampant lions, and a girdled hero fighting a human-headed bull. In the field a sun disc, moon crescent and 'star spade'. Dagger under pottery vessel, above the vessel an unidentifiable object. Mace between the last pair of contestants.

*Remarks:* Whereas the animals' bellies, legs, hair and the hero's legs and hair have been carved carefully, the positioning of the arms is rather clumsy. Both bull-men grasp the back of the lion they are fighting with one hand, and they curve the other around the lions' neck so that their hands almost touch their own backs.

The starspade, originally a combination of two cuneiform signs, later became a symbol not necessarily always connected with the Sun-god <sup>41</sup>).

There is an unidentifiable incision, neither arm nor dagger, between the hero and the human-headed bull.

*Date:* Akkad period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

*Bibl.:* R. M. BOEHMER, *EGA* Abb. 65 (cat. no. 282).

#### No. 17 (PL. II)

*Mat.:* shell  
*Meas.:* 1, 7 × 0, 9 cm

*Prov.:* gift from Mr. G. Turner  
*Inv. no.:* 9346

*Descr.:* Animal contest scene, in which two antithetical stags (?) are each attacked from behind, the left one by a lion, the right one by another horned animal.

*Remarks:* Animal contests executed in this rather nonchalant way with a predilection for diagonal lines, form a small group among the wide variety of contest scenes of the Akkad period. The stylized figures, whose composition

<sup>40</sup>) Cf. *EGA* Abb. 2-13.

<sup>41</sup>) See *EGA*, p. 84-86. The sign is read as <sup>a</sup>utu, the Sun-god.

is clearly derived from such seals as *EGA* Abb. 14 and 15, are characterized by the sharp angle of neck and body of the animals. Cf. also *EGA* Abb. 78, 81 and 82.

*Date:* Akkad period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

#### No. 18 (PL. II)

*Mat.:* green jasper  
*Meas.:* 2, 2 × 1, 2 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6359

*Descr.:* Two heroes with flat caps, dressed in short skirts and wearing beards, each grab a rearing buffalo by foreleg and neck. Both bulls' heads are curved backward. Damaged.

*Remarks:* Whether the dressed hero on *EGA* Abb. 35 wears a flat cap is uncertain, but his hair, beard and skirt are clearly visible and comparable to those on the Amsterdam seal <sup>42)</sup>.

The type of hero is unidentifiable in mythology <sup>43)</sup>; the tail-like incision between the heroes is a fault in the stone.

*Date:* Akkad period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

*Bibl.:* H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935, pl. XV<sup>9</sup>; R. M. BOEHMER, *EGA*, cat. no. 642.

#### No. 19 (PL. II)

*Mat.:* black limestone  
*Meas.:* 2, 7 × 1, 6 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6387

*Descr.:* A hero wearing a flat cap and short skirt holds a rampant bovine by foreleg and jowl. The animal is crossed with a similar bovine attacked by a rampant lion. The lion is attacked from behind by an ithyphallic bull-man who turns back to grasp the lions tail. Moon, sun-star and lizard function as space fillers.

*Remarks:* The bull man wears his hair in a plait; he turns his torso in a position that is rare in Akkadian glyptic art.

*Date:* Akkad period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

*Bibl.:* R. M. BOEHMER, *EGA*, Abb. 49 (cat. no. 193).

#### No. 20 (PL. III)

*Mat.:* black limestone  
*Meas.:* 3, 1 × 1, 8 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6379

*Descr.:* Three pairs of fighting gods: a standing god subdues a kneeling one; two standing gods grab each other's arm; a standing god is about to hit

<sup>42)</sup> Cf. also *EGA* Abb. 109.

<sup>43)</sup> See *EGA* p. 43. FRANKFORT calls the headgear a feathered cap (*JEOL* 3, 1935, p. 156). The flat cap is clearly shown also e.g. A. PARROT, *Temple d'Ishtar* (*MAM* I, Paris 1956) pl. 57; cf. *OIP* 60 pl. 70 a, b, middle figure (= 'Mythical Group' from T. Asmar).

another god with a weapon held in his right hand; his adversary leans on a mountain. All are naked except for girdles.

*Remarks:* All gods except the one on the mountain wear their hair in a chignon; all but the middle pair wear double horned mitres <sup>44)</sup>; all have a beard ending in curls.

Although the weapon held by the first god looks like a thrusting spear, comparison with e.g. *EGA* 303, 317, 319 and 343 makes a mace more probable. His kneeling <sup>45)</sup> adversary holds the palm of his hand upward in a gesture of submission, as does the right god of the pair in the middle. There is a mace between the first two gods of a type well known from the Early Dynastic and Akkad periods <sup>46)</sup>. The theme of the battle of the gods has not yet been found in Sumerian literature <sup>47)</sup>, but perhaps it does occur in 'presargonic' glyptic art <sup>48)</sup>; it is popular from the Akkad period onward. This seal's composition is remarkably balanced and carefully executed.

*Date:* Akkad Period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

*Bibl.:* H. FRANKFORT, *CS* pl. IIC and XXIIb; R. M. BOEHMER, *EGA*, Abb. 316 (cat. no. 852).

#### No. 21 (PL. III)

*Mat.:* serpentine  
*Meas.:* 3, 6 × 2, 4 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6381

*Descr.:* The Sun-god Šamaš rises between two mountains holding his saw, while rays issue from his shoulders. This takes place between the gates of heaven, one held open by a minor deity; a palm tree stands next to the other one.

*Remarks:* The design of the Sun-god rising from the mountains was a favourite one during the Akkad period, when Šamaš was particularly popular. His rising is nearly always shown between the gates of heaven held open by

<sup>44)</sup> R. M. BOEHMER made a stylistic analysis of horned mitres in *BJV* 7, 1967, p. 273-291.

<sup>45)</sup> An early name for this attitude is "Knielauf", cf. A. MOORTGAT, *VARS*, p. 60.

<sup>46)</sup> See e.g. A. MOORTGAT, *Tell Chuera Kampagne* 1964 (Wiesbaden 1967) Abb. 23 (although the mace-head on the Amsterdam seal is not necessarily fluted); cf. E. SALONEN, *Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier* (*Studia Orientalia* 33, Helsinki 1965) p. 72 f., s.v. *mittu*.

<sup>47)</sup> Perhaps the story of Kur can be said to contain the theme (see S. N. KRAMER, *Sumerian Mythology* (New York 1961) p. 76 f.; but note the strictures of TH. JACOBSEN, *Toward the Image of Tammuz* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970), 123 ff.). Literature and glyptic art seem to indicate that it was more at home among those Mesopotamians who spoke Akkadian.

<sup>48)</sup> E.g. P. AMIET, 'Les combats mythologiques dans l'art mésopotamien...', *Revue Archéologique* 42, 1953, p. 129 ff., fig. 1. E. D. VAN BUREN collected many examples of battle-scenes among gods, in *Or.* 24, 1955, p. 24-41.



one or two attendant gods<sup>49</sup>). In this case one of the attendants is 'replaced' by a palm tree, as e.g. on Hahn Collection no. 80<sup>50</sup>). The attendant here wears a long skirt; he is beardless and his long hair hangs down in a plait, possibly an indication of his youth.

The saw is Šamaš' emblem<sup>51</sup>). The god is often shown stepping out of the mountains with one leg lifted (cf. *AP* 6382; no. 22), or pushing himself up with one or both hands (e.g. *EGA* Abb. 394, 399); a static rising as on the present seal is relatively rare (cf. *EGA* Abb. 403). Typical for the Akkad period is the upward hook of the attendant's arm.

*Date*: Akkad period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

*Bibl.*: R. M. BOEHMER, *EGA* Abb. 404 (cat. no. 983).

#### No. 22 (PL. III)

*Mat.*: serpentine  
*Meas.*: 2, 6 × 1, 5 cm

*Prov.*: bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.*: 6382

*Descr.*: The Sun-god steps out of the mountains holding his saw, while rays issue forth from his shoulders. On both sides attendant gods, wearing the same horned mitres as Šamaš, hold open the gates of heaven. Behind one attendant a mortal raises his left hand in adoration as he carries a kid to offer to Šamaš in his right; he is bare-headed and bearded (?).

*Remarks*: By exposing his leg while stepping out of the mountains, the Sun-god shows that his skirt is a wrap-around. The attendants have the same dress, but the worshiper wears a fringed skirt. On the figure offering a goat, see note 33. The second gate of heaven has been erased on this seal, presumably to make place for an inscription that was however never engraved.

*Date*: Akkad period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

*Bibl.*: R. M. BOEHMER, *EGA* Abb. 419 (cat. no. 1019).

#### No. 23 (PL. III)

*Mat.*: shell  
*Meas.*: 2, 5 × 1, 5 cm

*Prov.*: bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.*: 6358

*Descr.*: A god stands in a boat consisting of a serpent; a Snake-god holds another serpent. Two scorpions and a tortoise act as space fillers.

*Remarks*: Although the boat-serpent has no horns, we may perhaps associate it with the *mušhuššu*<sup>52</sup>). On the present seal the animal has no feet<sup>53</sup>). The whip-like instrument in the standing god's hand may serve to steer the boat.

<sup>49</sup>) E.g. *EGA* Abb. 392-438. E. D. VAN BUREN treated the design in *Or* 16, 1947, pp. 312-332 and 477-480, pls. XVII-XXIII and XXXIV.

<sup>50</sup>) E. D. VAN BUREN, *loc. cit.*, pl. XX, fig. 12. Also *EGA* Abb. 425, 413.

<sup>51</sup>) Akkadian *šaššaru*, cf. *CT* 2 47:18 "... the emblem of Šamaš, the saw of Šamaš...".

<sup>52</sup>) See TH. JACOBSEN, *OIP* 43 p. 183 note 5\* and †.

<sup>53</sup>) The lines probably interpreted as such by E. D. VAN BUREN (*Or* 15, 1946, p. 7) are faults in the shell.

The identity of the Snake-god in the Akkadian period is unclear<sup>54</sup>). It is then that he first appears; the upward hooked arm here supports a date for this seal in that period.

The scene is unique in its combination of designs, but also in the carelessness of its execution. It may have served as an apotropaic amulet against snakes and scorpions.

*Date*: Akkad period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

*Bibl.*: H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935 pl. XV<sup>8</sup>; E. D. VAN BUREN, *AfO* 12, 1937 p. 13; *idem*, *Or.* 15, 1946 p. 7; *idem*, *Or.* 22, 1953 p. 51; *idem*, *AnOr* 18, fig. 107; A. SALONEN, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien* (*Studia Orientalia* VIII, 4, Helsingfors 1939), pl. IV no. 2.

#### No. 24 (PL. III)

*Mat.*: black limestone  
*Meas.*: 3, 6 × 2, 2 cm

*Prov.*: bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.*: 6384

*Descr.*: In a presentation scene, a bearded god seated on a dragon raises his right hand in greeting. A bearded divinity introduces a worshiper who carries a goat. The scene is bordered by an inscription:

<sup>a</sup>*Tišpak*/UR.SAG *li-li*/A-dam-[u]/DUB. [SAR]

"Tishpak, hero of the gods, Adamu the scribe (is thy servant?)"<sup>55</sup>)

Lion scimitar in the field.

*Remarks*: The god is seated on a throne, of which only a vertical incision, representing the back, remains. A crack in the seal is responsible for what appears as a stalk of vegetation in the god's hand. As with the other figures, his feet are missing. A moon crescent appears in front of him, above the dragon's head.

The dragon has one visible horn, and a tail raised high<sup>56</sup>).

The face of the introducing god is damaged, but his long beard is visible. His long skirt is similar to the worshiper's who goes bare-headed.

Considerable care has been taken in the execution of the figures' and dragon's

<sup>54</sup>) D. O. EDZARD, in H. W. HAUSSIG (ed.), *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient* (Stuttgart 1965) p. 120.

<sup>55</sup>) Cf. I. GELB, *Glossary of Old Akkadian* (Chicago 1957; = *MAD* 3), p. 19 for Adamu; TH. JACOBSEN *OIP* 72 pp. 48, 49 for parallels to the inscription. The present seal gives a valuable syllabic spelling with *li-li*.

<sup>56</sup>) Identification of figures on seals is always hazardous, but in this particular case the seated god may perhaps be taken to represent Tishpak associated with 'his' dragon, the *Labbu* (raising his tail in *CT* 13 33:13, cf. A. HEIDEL, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago 1963) p. 142). Whether the *Labbu* was a *bašmu* or a *mušhuššu* or whether the differentiation between them, made e.g. *Enuma Eliš* I 141, is always applicable, is not clear. Cf. TH. JACOBSEN, *OIP* 43, p. 183 note\*, and *OIC* 13, pp. 51-59. See also *SCS* 649, from the Akkadian houses at Tell Asmar IVa.

muscles, but details like the goat's legs, the figures' feet, the tail of the dragon and also the inscription received less attention. Besides being damaged by cracks, the seal is rather worn at the edges. The seal may hail from Tell Asmar<sup>57</sup>).

*Date:* Akkad period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

*Bibl.:* R. M. BOEHMER, *EGA* Abb. 565 (cat. no. 1307).

#### No. 25 (PL. III)

*Mat.:* bitumen (?)  
*Meas.:* 3, 4 × 2, 2 cm

*Prov.:* gift from Mr. G. Turner  
*Inv. no.:* 9344

*Descr.:* Fragmentary seal yields impression<sup>58</sup>) of an introduction scene: a seated god with beard greets an interceding deity and introduced mortal. Inscription:

DINGIR-ra-bi / [ ] . X. KU [?] = "Ilumrabi. . . . ." <sup>59</sup>)

*Date:* Akkad period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

#### No. 26 (PL. III)

*Mat.:* black limestone  
*Meas.:* 2, 9 × 1, 8 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. nr.:* 6389

*Descr.:* Seated god, cup in hand, is greeted by a standing god; behind the throne are two attendant gods, one with a mace (?). Moon crescent as space filler.

*Remarks:* All figures wear the same divine horned mitre, and the same beard and chignon. All dresses are fringed at the bottom and on the side. Note the angles at which the ankles protrude from the dresses. The moon-crescent has been incised with a cutting-disc. The standing god of *EGA* 550 (from Ur) is very similar to the Amsterdam figures in beard, hair and mitre; perhaps the seals have been cut by the same artist.

*Date:* Akkad period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

*Bibl.:* R. M. BOEHMER, *EGA* Abb. 625 (cat. no. 1428).

#### No. 27 (PL. III)

*Mat.:* shell  
*Meas.:* 3, 6 × 2, 0 cm

*Prov.:* gift from Mr. G. Turner  
*Inv. no.:* 9341

*Descr.:* Seated god in front of crouching bull with winged edifice on back. An attendant holds a rope that is tied to the building, and whose other end is held by the seated god. Damaged.

<sup>57</sup>) See also R. M. BOEHMER, *EGA* p. 100.

<sup>58</sup>) The impression should have incorporated the damaged part of the seal, and should have been cut off at the inscription: the bare-chested worshiper, wearing a long skirt with fringed border, stands behind the interceding deity, only part of whose fringed robe is shown.

<sup>59</sup>) For the name, cf. I. GELB, *Glossary of Old Akkadian* (Chicago 1957; = *MAD* 3) p. 233, and J. J. M. ROBERTS, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore 1972), pp. 121, 127 and 131 (writings *Ī-lum-ra-bi*, *DINGIR-ra-bi* and *Ī-lī-gal*).

*Remarks:* Seals with this scene are not infrequent in the Akkad period<sup>60</sup>). Their meaning is not clear<sup>61</sup>).

*Date:* Akkad period, ca. 2350-2170 BC.

#### No. 28 (PL. III)

*Mat.:* lapis lazuli  
*Meas.:* 1, 4 × 1, 0 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6380

*Descr.:* In an introduction-scene, a seated deity receives a bearded mortal via an interceding goddess. Worshiper's attendant raises his hand in reverence.

*Remarks:* The seated deity's dress has a bottom fringe. The intercedent goddess' arm is almost stretched, contrary to the usual attitude where the elbow is hooked upward<sup>62</sup>). A seal from Tell Asmar (*SCS* 690) shows a seated figure of stretched proportions similar to those on the Amsterdam seal; it is dated to the period of Gutti dominance over Southern Mesopotamia<sup>63</sup>). *Ashmolean* 390 has an introduction-scene with the same unmodeled figures, which BUCHANAN dates in roughly the same period<sup>64</sup>).

*Date:* Post-Akkad, ca. 2200-2100 BC.

#### No. 29 (PL. III)

*Mat.:* red jasper  
*Meas.:* 2, 3 × 1, 8 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6360

*Descr.:* In an introduction scene, a minor goddess in a long dress with single-fringed border introduces a bald-headed worshiper, dressed in a long robe, to a goddess seated on a throne on a podium; the latter wears a long multiple-fringed dress. A moon crescent, goose and scorpion are used as space fillers.

*Remarks:* Introduction or presentation scenes show mortals (or gods) being led by the hand before a major deity. The go-between is most often a minor goddess, but priests also occur<sup>65</sup>). The motif begins in the Akkad period, is extremely popular in the Ur III period and goes out of fashion after Old Babylonian times. The idea behind such representations is to magically bring about a situation by picturing it, in other words to perpetuate the prayer and devotion to a god of a mortal, in whom in each case we may without doubt see the owner of the seal. In this, seals have the same function as worshiper statues

<sup>60</sup>) e.g. *EGA* Abb. 589-619.

<sup>61</sup>) P. AMIET, 'Le Temple Ailé', in *RA* 54, 1960, pp. 1-10.

<sup>62</sup>) Straight arms do occur, however: e.g. *EGA* Abb. 451.

<sup>63</sup>) *SCS* p. 33.

<sup>64</sup>) *Ashmolean* p. 72.

<sup>65</sup>) E.g. *CS* pl. XV<sup>m</sup>, from Tell Asmar. Perhaps there the name 'offering scene' is correcter: the priest holds up a vessel to the vegetation deity, and does not lead the mortal by the hand; cf. *AP* 6355, no. 14. At first presentation is done by hand; in the later Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods, however, the intervening goddess is placed behind the worshiper.



such as found in the Early Dynastic period and, more rarely, later <sup>66</sup>).

There are points of similarity between this seal and Princeton no. 12 <sup>67</sup>) in hairdo, headdress, skirts and moon crescent, but the throne and its podium, the positioning of the interceding goddess' arm, and the scorpion are slightly different.

The goose as a space filler occurs often in Post-Akkad times, but also in the Ur III period <sup>68</sup>).

*Date:* Post-Akkad or Ur III period, ca. 2200-2000 BC.

*Bibl.:* H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935, pl. XV<sup>10</sup>); E. D. VAN BUREN, *Afo* 12, 1937/9, p. 21, fig. 24; idem, *AnOr* 18 fig. 100; A. SALONEN, *Vögel und Vögel-fang*... (Helsinki 1973) pl. 70<sup>4</sup>.

#### No. 30 (PL. IV)

*Mat.:* limestone  
*Meas.:* 1, 6 × 1, 1 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6373

*Descr.:* Three figures, hands raised in pious greeting approach a bull carrying a divine symbol.

*Remarks:* This cylinder belongs to a group of seals associated with the Old Assyrian trade in Central Anatolia. Examples have been found at Assur (e.g. *VARs* Abb. 505) and at Kültepe-Kanesh <sup>69</sup>); they are usually called Old Assyrian or Cappadocian. The bulls, in which we may see bull-statues, are mostly squarely cut; dresses are indicated by horizontal incisions and heads and headgear only summarily modeled <sup>70</sup>).

*Date:* "Cappadocian", ca. 1950-1800 BC.

#### No. 31 (PL. IV)

*Mat.:* haematite  
*Meas.:* 2, 1 × 1, 1 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6372

*Descr.:* In a contest scene, a bearded hero holds an inverted bovine by the legs and steps on its neck with his left foot; a rampant lion tackles the same animal from the other side. To the right a lion-griffin fights a kneeling figure who looks back over his shoulder.

*Remarks:* The inverted representation of animals usually means that they have been killed. Scenes where heroes victoriously place their foot on a car-

<sup>66</sup>) E.g. H. FRANKFORT, *Sculpture from the Diyala region* (OIP 44, Chicago 1939) pls. 8-11.

<sup>67</sup>) C. H. GORDON, 'Near Eastern seals in Princeton and Philadelphia', in *Or* 22, 1953, pp. 242-250. Material?

<sup>68</sup>) The geese are either depicted with normal feet, or as if mounted on a platform, cf. *CS* p. 146, and *Newell* figs. 126 and 128.

<sup>69</sup>) N. ÖZGÜÇ, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish* (Ankara 1968) p. 47-49.

<sup>70</sup>) Cf. *CANES* I, 844-861.

cass are well known from Akkadian glyptic <sup>71</sup>). The lion turns his head sideways to sink his teeth in the animal, also a well known motif.

A new Old Babylonian element, however, is the kneeling figure grappling with a lion or a griffin <sup>72</sup>). The kneeling figure, who wears a belt and a short beard <sup>73</sup>), is being subdued by the griffin, not stabbing him <sup>74</sup>).

The seal is worn at both edges, but the middle of the impression shows the minute care with which details like wing segments, kneeling figure's cap and muscles and hair on lion and hero have been cut.

A very carefully made parallel is *VARs* Abb. 467 from Assur, but *VARs* 468 is closer. Other stratified examples are too summarily published to be useful <sup>75</sup>).

*Date:* Old Babylonian, ca. 1800-1600 BC.

#### No. 32 (PL. IV)

*Mat.:* black limestone  
*Meas.:* 3, 1 × 1, 8 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6383

*Descr.:* Two naked bearded heroes each fight an animal, the one a lion-griffin, the other a rampant lion. A third pair consists of crossed lions. Moon crescent.

*Remarks:* The nude heroes, their upward hooked elbows and the crossed representation of the lions are traits from Akkadian glyptic that were retained in Old Babylonian times. The griffin became popular in the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods (cf. *AP* 6372; no. 31) and continued into Neo-Babylonian times (*AP* 6369; no. 49).

The maker of this seal used too much space for the two hero-pairs and had to 'squeeze in' the crossed lions.

*Date:* Old Babylonian, ca. 1800-1600 BC.

#### No. 33 (PL. IV)

*Mat.:* haematite  
*Meas.:* 2, 5 × 1, 4 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6377

*Descr.:* In an offering scene, a seated bearded god holds a scepter in his right hand; a worshiper offers him a kid, while a female deity intercedes. The field is filled with a double lion-club, a kneeling man, and two registers: the

<sup>71</sup>) Cf. *EGA* e.g. Abb. 73, 223, 224.

<sup>72</sup>) Cf. *AP* 6377 (no. 33) where the (inverted) figure raises his hand in submission. According to Dr. PORADA the lion and lion-griffin in these scenes may be associated with Nergal (*CANES* I, p. 44). For Ur III occurrences, cf. *ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>73</sup>) A clear illustration of the rather typefied heads can be found in R. OPIFICIUS, *Das Altbabylonische Terrakottarelie* (Berlin 1961) Tf. 16, no. 567.

<sup>74</sup>) If the design can be explained uniformly: cf. *SCS* 957.

<sup>75</sup>) E.g. M. MATOUŠOVA-RAJMOVA, 'Some cylinder seals from Dhiba'i and Harmal', in *Sumer* 31, 1975, p. 62, no. 37 (from Harmal II).

lower one shows a lion attacking a gazelle (?) and a hero fighting a bull-man. The upper register contains a crouching lion, a human head and a lion-griffin confronting an inverted kneeling human figure looking back over his shoulder and raising his hand, and a half obliterated sun disc in a moon crescent. In front of the interceding goddess two cuneiform signs: <sup>a</sup>Šamaš. Possibly recut.

*Remarks:* This seal provides a good illustration of two characteristics of Old Babylonian introduction scenes. In the first place, the interceding deity is always shown behind the worshiper, and secondly the identifying function of the seal is not fulfilled by an inscription but by the addition of small designs that have no relation to the main theme.

The kid-offering is shown also on other seals of this collection <sup>76</sup>). The double lion-headed club, usually a symbol for Ishtar, is here not necessarily associated with any of the figures. Filler elements like the human head and crouching animal (often a bull, here a lion) occur more often, especially in scenes connected with the Sun god <sup>77</sup>). The griffin and kneeling figure are also seen on *AP* 6372 (no. 31); the raised hand signifies submission. Pairs of contestants that are reminiscent in style of the Akkad period are very popular in the Old Babylonian period.

*Date:* Old Babylonian, ca. 1800-1600 BC.

*Bibl.:* H. FRANKFORT, *CS*, pl. II<sup>d</sup> (seal only).

#### No. 34 (PL. IV)

*Mat.:* haematite  
*Meas.:* 2, 3 × 1, 1 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6371

*Descr.:* In an offering scene, a seated goddess receives a kid from a mortal who is followed by a figure with a stick (?); a minor god holds a tripod with moon crescent. In the field, a Bes-like figure and a little figure in a short tunic. Recut. Slightly damaged.

*Remarks:* Whereas the identifying function of cylinder seals of the Ur III period that carry offering or introduction scenes, is largely taken over by an inscription, similar Old Babylonian representations show a great variety of secondary motifs. The present seal as well as *AP* 6377 (no. 33) illustrate this, here by the little men.

The goddess is seated on her podium-throne and seems to hold a staff; however, this vertical incision and the one immediately behind her throne are the remnants of the frame of an earlier inscription; in front of the goddess' head part of the sign -NI-. The tripod is rare in that it is being held in the hand. Simple standards with moon crescent occur often in Isin-Larsa and Old Baby-

<sup>76</sup>) cf. *AP* 6355 (no. 14), 6382 (no. 22), 6384 (no. 24), 6371 (no. 34);

<sup>77</sup>) E.g. *CANES* I, 399, 402 and 421; cf. 434, however.

lonian glyptic <sup>78</sup>), and crescents on standing tripods are also found <sup>79</sup>). The deity holding the tripod wears a knee-length robe.

The worshiper offering the kid (see note 33) wore a headcover now obliterated by damage, and damage also prevents identification of the straight object in front of the figure with a polostype hat, who may be Amurru <sup>80</sup>).

*Date:* Old Babylonian, ca. 1800-1600 BC.

#### No. 35 (PL. IV)

*Mat.:* haematite  
*Meas.:* 2, 1 × 0, 9 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6370

*Descr.:* A standing figure in a short tunic has his left foot on a crouching ram and holds a crook. He is faced by a female in a long dress. Sumerian inscription:

<sup>a</sup>mar-tu dumu an-na, "Amurru, son of An".

*Remarks:* The figure with the crook is the god Amurru, who has been the subject of a short monograph listing his various attributes and his character <sup>80</sup>). The god is here faced by a female worshiper <sup>81</sup>) whose hands are clasped in devout greeting. The inscription is votive and of a well known type <sup>82</sup>). Scepter, hat and crouching ram are all dealt with by KUPPER <sup>83</sup>).

*Date:* Old Babylonian, ca. 1800-1600 BC.

#### No. 36 (PL. IV)

*Mat.:* black limestone  
*Meas.:* 2, 3 × 0, 9 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935  
*Inv. no.:* 6361

*Descr.:* A simple frieze shows three standing figures: a nude female clasping her hands under her bosom, a figure with a wind-blown beard and conical horned mitre wearing a kilt, and finally a long-robed figure probably also bearded and wearing a cylindrical horned mitre.

*Remarks:* This seal belongs to a group of Old Babylonian examples all sharing the nude female <sup>84</sup>) and often also showing two standing figures, among whom the so-called "God with Mace" is frequently found <sup>85</sup>).

<sup>78</sup>) E.g. *SCS* 713, 717, 778; *CANES* I, 413; *Ashmolean* 420, 443, 450, 470, cf. 519.

<sup>79</sup>) E.g. *VARS* Abb. 427, 430; *CANES* I, 536.

<sup>80</sup>) J. R. KUPPER, *L'iconographie du dieu Amurru* (Bruxelles 1961).

<sup>81</sup>) She may be a minor female deity, but pride of place must be given to Amurru in this scene. It is clear that the seal owner intended to perpetuate his (or her) devotion to his (or her) god Amurru in stone.

<sup>82</sup>) E.g. KUPPER, *op. cit.*, nos. 35, 36, 39.

<sup>83</sup>) KUPPER, *op. cit.*, resp. pp. 42 ff., 37 ff., and 49 ff.

<sup>84</sup>) See *CANES* I, 476 ff. Possibly she is to be identified with Ishtar, cf. H. W. HAUSSIG, (ed.), *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, p. 85. See also, however, J. DAN-MANVILLE, *RA* 56, 1962 p. 29.

<sup>85</sup>) Cf. *CANES* I, p. 51-52.



The female is always depicted *en face*, heels together but feet spread out, which, together with her loosened hair, may signify sexual surrender.

The kilted figure carries no mace on this seal, but is certainly to be identified with the 'god with mace' in view of the standardized bending of his right arm, his left arm held at the belt, his triangular beard (spread by the wind) and his stance looking away from the nude. The cylindrical headdress is often worn by the god Amurru <sup>86</sup>).

*Date:* Old Babylonian, 1800-1600 BC.

*Bibl.:* H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935, pl. XV<sup>11</sup>.

### No. 37 (PL. V)

*Mat.:* green serpentine

*Meas.:* 4, 3 × 1, 4 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935

*Inv. no.:* 6388

*Descr.:* A worshiper in a long fringed robe holds up his right hand in reverence and clasps his right hand in front of his breast. With his back towards a sacred tree, he faces an inscription:

dAMAR.UTU UMUN GAL(?) UŠUM *ba-ni* KI-ti

*mu-tir i-ši a-na ma-a(!)-di*

İR NÍ.TUKU.ZU *ma-ši-ka li-sur*

"May the lord Marduk, the dragon creator of the world,

he who changes the small things into great ones,

protect your servant who worships you, your ecstatic adorer" <sup>87</sup>

*Remarks:* Scenes in which the act of praying as well as the prayer itself of the seal-owner are perpetuated in stone, are particularly popular in the Early Kassite period <sup>88</sup>), but in style they derive from Old Babylonian examples (eg. *CANES* I 558-567) <sup>89</sup>). The addition of the tree places the seal in the later part of the Early Kassite period <sup>90</sup>). As often, the worshiper wears his long mantle in a fold over his left arm.

*Date:* Kassite, 15th cent. BC.

*Bibl.:* M. STOL, in: M. HEERMA VAN VOSS (ed.), *Van beitel tot penseel* (Leiden 1973), frontispiece and p. 6-7.

### No. 38 (PL. V)

*Mat.:* brown limestone

*Meas.:* 4, 3 × 1, 8 cm

*Prov.:* bought Baghdad 1935

*Inv. no.:* 6385

*Descr.:* A pair of rampant winged ibexes flanks a sacred tree with undergrowth. Perhaps another plant between the animals' rear ends. Imitation

<sup>86</sup>) KUPPER, *op. cit.* (n. 80), p. 37 ff.

<sup>87</sup>) Dr. H. LIMET very kindly furnished the transliteration and translation (in French).

<sup>88</sup>) See TH. BERAN, *AfO* 18, 1957-58, p. 256 ff.

<sup>89</sup>) Cf. CS p. 180.

<sup>90</sup>) BERAN, *loc. cit.*, p. 266.

impressions of gold cappings at top and bottom. Remnants of borderlines. Worn.

*Remarks:* After the middle of the 2nd mill. BC the theme of the sacred tree <sup>91</sup>) flanked by animals became very popular in Mesopotamia, especially in the north, where Mitannian and Middle Assyrian art used it frequently <sup>92</sup>). On the Amsterdam seal, the winged animals are pictured almost horizontally, and thus seem to be trotting rather than rampant. Their wings and bodies are carved with short parallel lines, the palm tree trunk and the leaves in a fishbone pattern; both are found also in *VARS* 560, which is otherwise considerably different. The present seal belongs in what TH. BERAN calls "Dritte Kassitische Gruppe" <sup>93</sup>), a class whose affinities with Middle Assyrian glyptic had already been noted by FRANKFORT (CS p. 189).

To be compared are *Geneva* 58, *MOORE* 72, *Ashmolean* 563, *Louvre* A 692 (and 695), which share the imitation impressions of gold caps and borderlines.

*Date:* Late Kassite, ca. 1200-1000 BC (?).

### No. 39 (PL. V)

*Mat.:* frit

*Meas.:* 2, 4 × 1, 2 cm

*Prov.:* Gift from Mrs. M. A. Levelt-Hoogvelt

*Inv. no.:* 9259

*Descr.:* In an introduction scene a worshiper stands before a standing deity; an interceding goddess holds a bouquet tree. A horizontal tree separates a pair of inverted gazelles (?) and a walking bull. Animal heads (?) between worshiper and god.

*Remarks:* The old Mesopotamian introduction scene is here combined with animals and a tree to produce a typically Mitannian impression. The tree is intended to be of the type seen on e.g. the Kassite seal *AP* 6388 (no. 37); it is often used horizontally as a divider in Mitannian glyptic art: cf. *Nuzi* 206, 274, 290, 294, 300, 301 etc.

*Date:* Mitannian, ca. 1450-1250 BC.

*Bibl.:* J. CROUWEL, in: *Gifts to mark the re-opening* (ed. by the Association of friends of the Allard Pierson Museum), Amsterdam 1976, p. 38.

### No. 40 (PL. V)

*Mat.:* white limestone

*Meas.:* 2, 5 × 1, 3 cm

*Prov.:* Gift from Mrs. M. A. Levelt-Hoogvelt

*Inv. no.:* 9261

<sup>91</sup>) "Sacred tree" and not "Tree of life": see H. GENGE, 'Zum "Lebensbaum" in den Keilschriftkulturen', *Acta Orientalia* 33, 1971, p. 321-334. Cf. B. HROUDA, 'Zur Herkunft des Assyrischen Lebensbaumes', *BaM* 3, 1964, p. 111-151.

<sup>92</sup>) The design also occurs in Elam: cf. P. AMIET, *Glyptique Susienne* (Paris 1972), nos. 2121 ff. AMIET dates these to the Neo-Elamite period (text, p. 273). Cf. also E. PORADA, *Tchoga Zanbil* IV (Paris 1970) no. 43.

<sup>93</sup>) 'Die Babylonische Glyptik der Kassitenzeit', *AfO* 18, 1957-8, p. 255-278, esp. p. 274 ff.

*Descr.*: An girdled hero grasps a tree, or offers it to a standing goddess who wears a fringed skirt. Recumbent bull above guilloche.

*Remarks*: The 'hero's' nature is elusive, but he is a frequent guest in Mitannian seal engravings: cf. *Nuzi* 401, 404, 406 etc.

*Date*: Mitannian, ca. 1450-1250 BC.

*Bibl.*: J. CROUWEL, *op. cit.* (see Bibl. no. 39), p. 38.

#### No. 41 (PL. V)

*Mat.*: frit

*Meas.*: 2, 5 × 1, 0 cm

*Prov.*: Gift from Mrs. M. A. Levelt-Hoogvelt

*Inv. no.*: 9260

*Descr.*: A male figure kneels on his left knee holding a tree. Crossed recumbent bulls over guilloche. Behind the man's head a sign.

*Remarks*: Random positioning of elements as trees<sup>94</sup>), crouching or recumbent animals and guilloches is a hallmark of the glyptic art of the Mitannian period. A design somewhat similar to the one on the present seal can be found on a seal from Gezer in Palestine<sup>95</sup>), but it stems from Northern Mesopotamia and Syria<sup>96</sup>).

*Date*: Mitannian, ca. 1450-1250 BC.

*Bibl.*: J. CROUWEL, *op. cit.* (see Bibl. no. 39), p. 38.

#### No. 42 (PL. V)

*Mat.*: bluish-green limestone

*Meas.*: 2, 3 × 1, 1 cm

*Prov.*: bought Baghdad 1935

*Inv. no.*: 6364

*Descr.*: A scene bordered above by a moon crescent and seven wedges shows a grazing deer. A three-branched bush and a four-pointed star act as space fillers.

*Remarks*: Middle Assyrian glyptic art<sup>97</sup>) shows a predilection for the design of actively engaged animals, and such landscape scenes as *CANES* I 601 and 606 illustrate the liveliness with which it could be executed. No stratified parallel to the Amsterdam seal is known to me, but the free composition and the tension of the hind leg just about to be put forward seem to place the seal possibly in the Middle Assyrian period. The seven wedges may represent the Pleiades; they are, however, most often shown in two rows, of four and three dots respectively<sup>98</sup>).

*Date*: Middle Assyrian, or early Neo-Assyrian. ca. 1100-800 BC.

<sup>94</sup>) Called "bouquet-tree" by E. PORADA: cf. *Nuzi*, p. 17, 22-23.

<sup>95</sup>) J. NOUGAYROL, *Cylindres-sceaux et empreintes de cylindres* (Paris 1939), pl. III no. LXV, and p. 29.

<sup>96</sup>) See e.g. *Nuzi*, nos. 216 (seated figure), 224, 226, 227, 229(!) etc.

<sup>97</sup>) See A. MOORTGAT, 'Assyrische Glyptik des 13. Jahrhunderts', *ZA* 47, 1942 p. 50-88, and idem, 'Assyrische Glyptik des 12. Jahrhunderts', *ZA* 48, 1944, p. 23-44.

<sup>98</sup>) For examples cf. E. D. VAN BUREN, 'The seven dots in Mesopotamian Art and their Meaning' *AfO* 13, 1939-41, p. 277-289.

#### No. 43 (PL. V)

*Mat.*: dark brown limestone

*Meas.*: 2, 8 × 1, 3 cm

*Prov.*: bought Baghdad 1935

*Inv. no.*: 6368

*Descr.*: A griffin lifting his left foreleg is shot at over a bush by a kneeling bearded archer; moon crescent and borderlines. Worn.

*Remarks*: The scene on this seal was popular in the Neo-Assyrian period<sup>99</sup>); the style is linear, and dated to the 9th and 8th centuries BC<sup>100</sup>). The griffin has a four-plumed crest (cf. e.g. *Louvre* A 628); the lifted leg has parallels in e.g. *CANES* I 611-615. The style of engraving resembles that on the (otherwise different) seal *VARs* 676, dated by MOORTGAT to the 8th century BC<sup>101</sup>). ND 1015 from Nimrud is also comparable<sup>102</sup>). The griffin on ND 1086<sup>103</sup>) is similar to the one on the Amsterdam seal.

*Date*: Neo-Assyrian, prob. 8th century BC.

*Bibl.*: H. FRANKFORT, *CS* pl. XXXII<sup>h</sup>.

#### No. 44 (PL. V)

*Mat.*: brown-grey agate

*Meas.*: 1, 9 × 1, 1 cm

*Prov.*: bought Baghdad 1935

*Inv. no.*: 6374

*Descr.*: With each hand a bearded, four-winged genius grasps the foreleg of a rearing bull; moon crescent, sun star, lozenge and an unidentified object<sup>104</sup>) fill the field.

*Remarks*: This contest scene may in its heraldic symmetry perhaps ultimately be derived from such Akkad period scenes as *EGA*, Abb. 39, 45, 78, 82<sup>105</sup>): the main direction of the incisions is diagonal, and the animals' necks are bent at a sharp angle.

The design, here engraved in the so-called Drilled Style<sup>106</sup>), was popular in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian period, and was also executed in other styles (e.g. *AP* 6369; no. 49). *Ashmolean* 641 and *Moore* 79 are rather close to the present seal; also *Bibl. Nat.* 319, although there are marked differences in direction and modelling of the genius.

*Date*: Neo Assyrian, ca. 7th century BC.

<sup>99</sup>) Cf. *CS* p. 198.

<sup>100</sup>) In *CS* (pl. XXXII h) FRANKFORT dates our seal to the 13th cent. BC, but in view of *VARs* p. 69 ("... auf die Zeit vom 9. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert mit völliger Sicherheit zu schliessen...") the later dating is here preferred.

<sup>101</sup>) *VARs* p. 71.

<sup>102</sup>) "Probably 9th century BC": B. PARKER, *Iraq* 17, 1955, p. 97, and cf. pl. X no. 4.

<sup>103</sup>) *ibid.* pl. XII<sup>2</sup>; p. 100.

<sup>104</sup>) Cf. *Moore* 78, 79; fish?

<sup>105</sup>) Cf. *AP* 9346; no. 17.

<sup>106</sup>) *CANES* I p. 83 ff.; *Ashmolean* p. 113 f.



## No. 45 (PL. VI)

Mat.: rock crystal  
Meas.: 2, 2 × 1, 3 cm

Prov.: bought Baghdad 1935  
Inv. no.: 6362

Descr.: Winged genius with scimitar reaches for head of attacking sphinx. In the field a cock. Stone damaged at genius' right elbow.

Remarks: Carved in the "Late Cut Style" <sup>107</sup>, this seal has a rare space-filler in the cock, perhaps pointing to a Babylonian rather than an Assyrian origin. For the combating figures *CANES* I 737 and, to a lesser degree, *Newell* 426 are the closest parallels, but they differ in the sphinx' body and the genius' hair.

Date: Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian, 7th or 6th century BC.

Bibl.: H. FRANKFORT, *JEOL* 3, 1935, pl. XV<sup>12</sup>.

## No. 46 (PL. VI)

Mat.: agate  
Meas.: 2, 3 × 1, 2 cm

Prov.: bought Baghdad 1935  
Inv. no.: 6375

Descr.: Two human-headed demons with birds' feet looking back over their shoulders are placed antithetically on either side of an altarlike object whose vertical part is intersected by three pairs of horizontal incisions; sun-star as space filler.

Remarks: The headgear of the demons is not uniform. For the one on the left, cf. *AP* 6369 (no. 49). The other demon has one vertical incision down the back of his neck, perhaps representing a plait. The scene is one of a series involving the worship of divine symbols, frequent in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times. Perhaps a sacred tree rather than an altar is intended: cf. *CANES* I 728, 729, 732.

Date: Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian, ca. 7th or 6th century BC.

## No. 47 (PL. VI)

Mat.: rock crystal  
Meas.: 2, 3 × 1, 3 cm

Prov.: bought Baghdad 1935  
Inv. no.: 6391

Descr.: A bearded worshiper wearing a long mantle over a short tunic piously raises his hands before divine symbols on the back of a horned quadruped. Behind the animal the sacred tree and a winged sun disc with rays. In the field a moon crescent, the sun star and a small offering table <sup>108</sup>.

Remarks: The combination of the sacred tree and winged sun disc is popular early in the Neo-Assyrian period: cf. *CANES* I 637, 640-9, 683; it also occurs in Neo-Babylonian glyptic art: cf. *ibid.* 726-731. The 'spade' and stylus, symbols

<sup>107</sup> E. PORADA, *CANES* I p. 88 f. Differentiating between the northern and southern variety is often impossible.

<sup>108</sup> Doubtful. Perhaps comparable to object behind worshiper on ND 7086 (B. PARKER, *Iraq* 24, 1962, p. 38 fig. 6).

of Marduk and Nabu, here stand on an animal perhaps to be identified as Marduk's dragon, the *Mušhuššu* <sup>109</sup>), or else as a bull. If the sundisc represents the god Aššur, the combination of these designs may indicate a date after the start of the 7th cent. BC when Assyria and Babylonia were united.

Much use has been made of the drill in this seal <sup>110</sup>). The design of the divine symbols on an animal's back is often found on Neo-Babylonian stamp seals <sup>111</sup>).

Date: Neo-Babylonian, ca. 7th century BC (?).

Bibl.: H. FRANKFORT, *CS* pl. II<sup>f</sup> and XXXVI<sup>d</sup>.

## No. 48 (PL. VI)

Mat.: red carnelian  
Meas.: 2, 7 × 1, 2 cm

Prov.: bought Baghdad 1935  
Inv. no.: 6378

Descr.: A bearded worshiper faces left and raises his hand(s) piously before two identical altars carrying different divine symbols: one with cross-hatching and a protruding snake's head <sup>112</sup>), the other with a ladder design and a moon crescent. To the left a winged sundisc above a sacred tree. The scene is bordered by two parallel incisions whose bases disappear in damage.

Remark: For the crescent symbol, cf. *CANES* I 781.

Date: Neo-Babylonian, ca. 6th century BC.

## No. 49 (PL. VI)

Mat.: translucent blue chalcedony  
Meas.: 2, 2 × 1, 0 cm

Prov.: bought Baghdad 1935  
Inv. no.: 6369

Descr.: A pair of sphinxes is held antithetically by a bearded hero wearing a short tunic under a long fringed mantle.

Remarks: Wings, belly-fur, hairdo and mantle-fringe have all been engraved with neat parallel incisions. The tails of the sphinxes curve back to their backs as on *AP* 6375 (no. 46). The two horizontal lines between the hero's legs represent the inside seam of his mantle <sup>113</sup>). The accentuated musculature of the legs and arms, and the fact that only one of the sphinxes' legs touches the base line give the scene an elegant character <sup>114</sup>). At the basis of such representations probably lies the contest-scene.

Date: Neo-Babylonian, ca. 7th century BC.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Th. JACOBSEN, *OIP* 43, p. 183 note\*.

<sup>110</sup> PORADA's Late Drilled Style, cf. *CANES* I p. 86 f.

<sup>111</sup> In such scenes the animal often crouches on an altar. See e.g. *Geneva* 81, *Aulock* 136, *Bibl. Nat.* 597-600, *Newell* 489, *Lowre* A 731, A 737, A 759. Earlier representations exist: B. PARKER, *Iraq* 24, 1962, pl. IX<sup>1</sup>: ND 5262; also *VARS* 598.

<sup>112</sup> Not unique, but rare; cf. E. KLENGEL-BRANDT, *Oriens Antiquus* 8, 1969, p. 333, Abb. 2.

<sup>113</sup> cf. e.g. *CANES* I 757.

<sup>114</sup> 'Menuetto'-style, cf. *AP* 6374 (no. 44).

## No. 50 (PL. VI)

Mat.: chalcedony  
Meas.: 2, 6 × 1, 4 cm

Prov.: bought Baghdad 1935  
Inv. no.: 6386

*Descr.:* With his right foot on a recumbent bearded goat, a hero is shown fighting with a rampant bull. The figure is dressed in a short fringed tunic and a long fringed mantle, and wears a beard. In his right hand a dagger, in his left a scimitar. Damaged.

*Remarks:* Picturing gods with a foot on a symbolic animal is an old Mesopotamian tradition <sup>115</sup>). In what E. PORADA calls the modeled style <sup>116</sup>), a few cylinders show a similar scene: *CANES* I 765, 766, *Louvre* A 716, 717. The scimitar is of a type actually excavated <sup>117</sup>); it is often among the weapons carried by Ishtar e.g. in Akkad period seal impressions: *EGA* Abb. 380, 382, 384, 387, and in Old Babylonian ones: *CANES* I 427 <sup>118</sup>), it is also seen in the hand of the worshiper on Kassite seals with prayers (e.g. *CANES* I 570-4). On the Amsterdam seal, the scimitar is held with the crook toward the body, which is unusual.

Cf. for the hero (without animal underfoot) *Moore* 97 which carries a South Arabic inscription; some Neo-Babylonian stamp seals show the same: *Louvre* A 670, A 755; also D 83 <sup>119</sup>) which has a short supplication to Nabû.

The dagger is damaged.

*Date:* Neo-Babylonian, ca. 6th century BC(?).

Amsterdam

DIEDERIK J. W. MEIJER

<sup>115</sup>) E.g. *EGA* Abb. 382, 387; also *OIP* 60 pls. 77, 78, 79A, which shows the four-faced god with scimitar. Cf. also *AP* 6370 (no. 35).

<sup>116</sup>) *CANES* I p. 90 ff.

<sup>117</sup>) G. CROS, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello* (Paris 1914) pl. VIII<sup>1</sup>, made of 'copper'. Note that copper is not among the materials mentioned for the *gamlu*: cf. E. SALONEN, *Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier* (*Studia Orientalia* 33, Helsinki 1965) p. 144 f.

<sup>118</sup>) Cf. also the lion-scimitar on *CANES* I 384.

<sup>119</sup>) *Louvre* I, pl. 52<sup>14</sup>.

# EINE KANNE DER NORDSYRISCH/KILIKISCHEN WARE IM ALLARD PIERSON MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM\*)

Inventarnummer: APM 8419.

Aus dem Kunsthandel, angeblich aus Urfa.

Masse: Höhe: 16, 2 cm; Durchmesser der Standfläche:

5, 8 cm; grösster Durchmesser des Körpers: 12,2 cm.

Vollständig erhalten (Abb. 1-4; Pl. VII-VIII).

Kleeblattkanne mit gerader Standfläche, gedrückt kugeligem Körper, sehr schlankem Hals und oval ausgezogener Mündung, die von beiden Seiten leicht eingedrückt ist. Der Rand ist glatt abgestrichen, der im Querschnitt runde Henkel setzt direkt unter dem Rand und auf der Schulter an.

Die Kanne ist aus kalkgemagertem, feinen Ton und nicht auf der schnell drehenden Scheibe gefertigt; die Malfarbe ist direkt auf den Tongrund aufgetragen und die gesamte Oberfläche nach der Bemalung fein poliert. Die Politurspuren laufen auf dem Körper horizontal und auf dem Hals vertikal.

Die nicht besonders sorgfältige, mit unregelmässigen Pinselstrichen aufgetragene Bemalung besteht aus einem Farbband auf dem Rand, unregelmässigen, umlaufenden Farbbändern auf Hals und Schulter und zwei Bändern, die die weiteste Stelle des Körpers markieren. Auf der Schulter eine Reihe von stehenden, gegitterten Dreiecken. Die Innenzeichnung der Dreiecke ist flüchtig ausgeführt und läuft an manchen Stellen über den Kontur hinaus. Vom untersten, umlaufenden Band sind an vier Stellen Bündel von jeweils vier Streifen zur Basis geführt. Auf dem Henkel horizontale Striche, die vertikal durch ein breites Band übermalt sind. Unter dem Henkelansatz auf der Schulter ist zwischen zwei der gegitterten Dreiecke ein Bäumchen eingefügt.

Auf die Basis ist vor dem Brand eine Töpfermarke in Form eines P's gemalt (Abb. 4). Beide Enden des Kopfes des P's sind nach links über den Vertikalstrich hinausgezogen, ein nach links laufender, gerader Strich fügt sich an das obere Ende des Kopfes.

Tongrund: braun-rot bis rötlich [Munsell Soil Color Chart 5 YR 6/6 (reddish yellow), 2.5 YR 5/6 (red)].

Malfarbe: dunkel braun-rot [Munsell Soil Color Chart 10 R 3/6 (dark red)].

Die Kanne gehört zur nordsyrisch/kilikischen, bemalten Keramik des frühen zweiten Jahrtausends, einer Ware, die unter den verschiedensten Namen bekannt geworden ist: „Cilician Painted“, „Middle Bronze Age Painted“, „typically Syrian“, „syrische Keramik“. Sie ist zum ersten Mal zusammenfassend von SETON WILLIAMS <sup>1</sup>) behandelt worden und von HROUDA in seinem

\*) Prof. Dr. M. N. VAN LOON danke ich für seine Hilfe bei der Abfassung dieses Artikels. In technischen Fragen hat mich Drs. R. W. BRANDT (Albert Egges van Giffen Instituut voor Prae- en Protohistorie, Universität Amsterdam) beraten. Wertvolle Hinweise verdanke ich Drs. D. J. W. MEIJER und Drs. J. H. CROUWEL (Archaeologisch-Historisch Instituut, Universität Amsterdam). Die Aufnahmen und Zeichnungen sind von G. STRIETMAN (Archaeologisch-Historisch Instituut, Universität Amsterdam).

<sup>1</sup>) M. V. SETON WILLIAMS „A Painted Pottery from Southern Turkey and Northern



Buch über die bemalte Keramik des zweiten Jahrtausends gegen die gleichzeitigen Gruppen bemalter Keramik in Anatolien und Nord-Mesopotamien abgegrenzt worden <sup>2)</sup>).

*Verbreitung der Ware:* Stratigraphisch ist die nordsyrisch/kilikische Ware festgelegt durch die Ausgrabungen der Syrian Expedition des Oriental Institute Chicago in der Amuq-Ebene, wo sie typisch ist für die Phase L <sup>3)</sup>, durch Woolley's Grabungen in Tell Atshana, wo sie von Schicht XVI bis VIII vorkommt <sup>4)</sup>, durch die Ausgrabungen in Gözlü Kule, wo diese Ware für die „Transitional EB III/MB-“ und die MB-Schichten charakteristisch ist <sup>5)</sup> und schliesslich durch die Grabungen in Mersin, wo sie hauptsächlich in den Schichten XI A, B, Z und in pit 163, der gleichzeitig mit Schicht XI angesetzt wird, gefunden wurde <sup>6)</sup>. An diesen Fundplätzen in der Amuq-Ebene und in Kilikien <sup>7)</sup> ist die nordsyrisch/kilikische Ware am besten vertreten, sie wird aber auch — wenn auch in sehr viel geringerem Umfang — im eigentlichen Nordsyrien gefunden. In Mishrife <sup>8)</sup> und in Hama H <sup>9)</sup> sind einige Exemplare in regulären Ausgrabungen gefunden worden, möglicherweise stammt auch die von MARGUERON publizierte Kanne aus dem Kunsthandel <sup>10)</sup> aus diesem Gebiet. Das Orontestal nördlich von Hama ist vor kurzem erst durch eine Oberflächenuntersuchung erschlossen worden. Unter den Scherben aus Asharne <sup>11)</sup> und Amqiye <sup>12)</sup> könnte sich mit der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Keramik vergleichbares Material befinden. Auch unter der bisher veröffentlichten Keramik aus Tell Mardikh befindet sich nordsyrisch/kilikische Ware <sup>13)</sup>.

Syria", *Iraq* XV (1953), 57-68. S. 61 sind mit Shager Bazar, Billa und Nuzi Fundplätze genannt, die nicht nordsyrisch/kilikische, sondern Khabur-Ware aufweisen.

<sup>2)</sup> B. HROUDA, *Die bemalte Keramik des zweiten Jahrtausends in Nordmesopotamien und Nordsyrien* (Istanbuler Forschungen 19, Berlin 1957), 27-31.

<sup>3)</sup> G. SWIFT jr., *The Pottery of the Amuq Phases K to O and its Historical Relationships* (unpubl. PhD-thesis, Chicago 1958), 15-17; 42-52.

<sup>4)</sup> L. WOOLLEY, *Alalakh* (Oxford 1955), 308-314; Taf. LXXXIV; LXXXV; XC; XCI; XCII; XCIII a-j; XCVII j-m, q; XCVIII. Zur Chronologie der Schichten von Tell Atshana s. M. MELLINK, *AJA* 61 (1957), 395-400.

<sup>5)</sup> H. GOLDMAN, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus II* (Princeton 1956), 40; 165; fig. 287; 291; 295; 297; 311: 882, 889; 369: 859, 865, 858; 370; 372: 898; 374: 887, 888.

<sup>6)</sup> J. GARSTANG, *Prehistoric Mersin* (Oxford 1953), 210; 213-15; fig. 143; 144; 148.

<sup>7)</sup> s. auch E. GJERSTAD, *Rév. Arch.* 6<sup>ème</sup> sér. III-IV (1934), 175: Painted I Ware.

<sup>8)</sup> DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, *Syria VIII* (1927), fig. 47; 49; Taf. XI: 1, 2; XIII: 1; alle aus Grab I. Zur Datierung des Grabes s. C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *Stratigraphie comparée* (London 1948), 118 ff.

<sup>9)</sup> H. INGHOLT, *Sept campagnes...* (Kopenhagen 1940), Taf. XVII: 3, 5; E. FUGMAN, *Hama II.1* (Kopenhagen 1958), fig. 109: 3H197 und Taf. X a: 5B901

<sup>10)</sup> J. MARGUERON, *Syria XLV* (1968), 75-79; Taf. IX und fig. 1.

<sup>11)</sup> J.-C. COURTOIS, *Syria L* (1973), fig. 3 a, rechts oben.

<sup>12)</sup> o.c., fig. 6 a, rechts Mitte und fig. 18 b, rechts oben; dieses Fragment stammt wahrscheinlich von einer tiefen Schüssel wie WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, Taf. LXXXIV b.

<sup>13)</sup> A. DAVICO et al., *MAIS, Camp.* 1964 (Rom 1965), Taf. XLI: 5; LXXXIX: 5-11

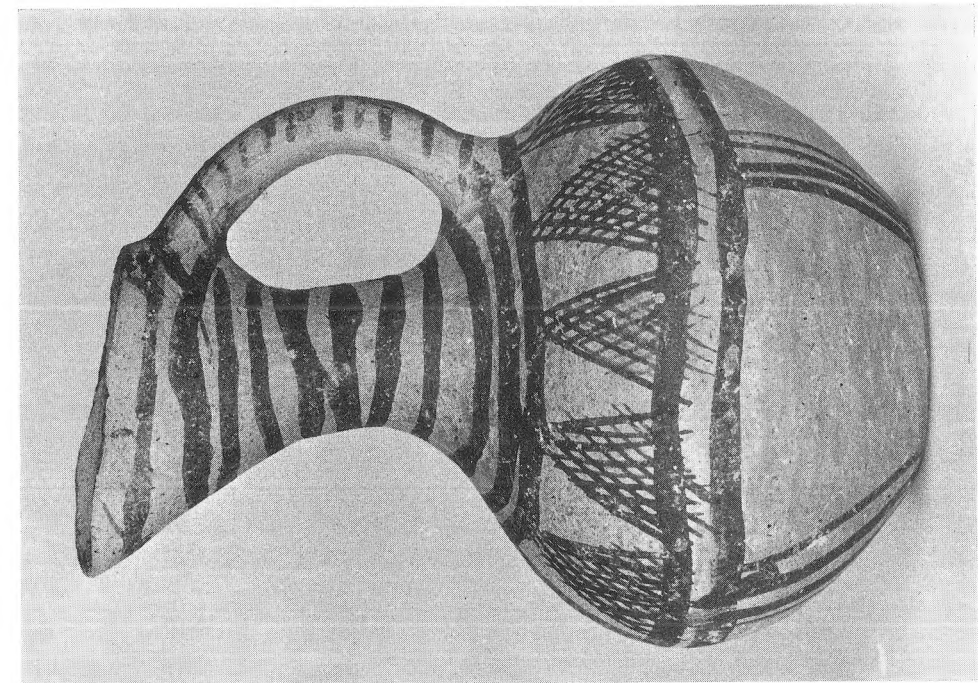
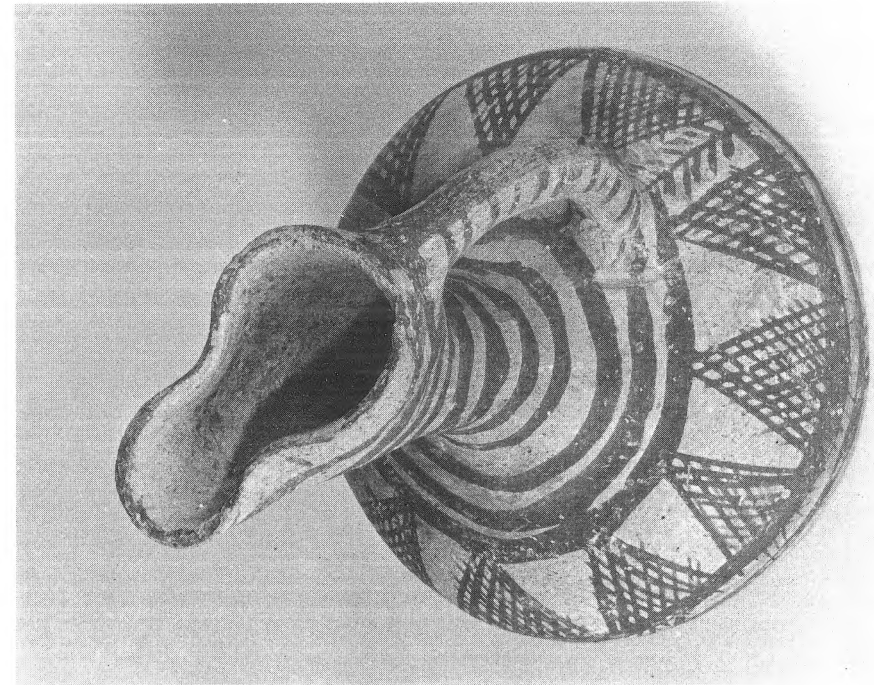


Abb. 1-2. Nordsyrisch/Kilikische Kanne, APM 8419.

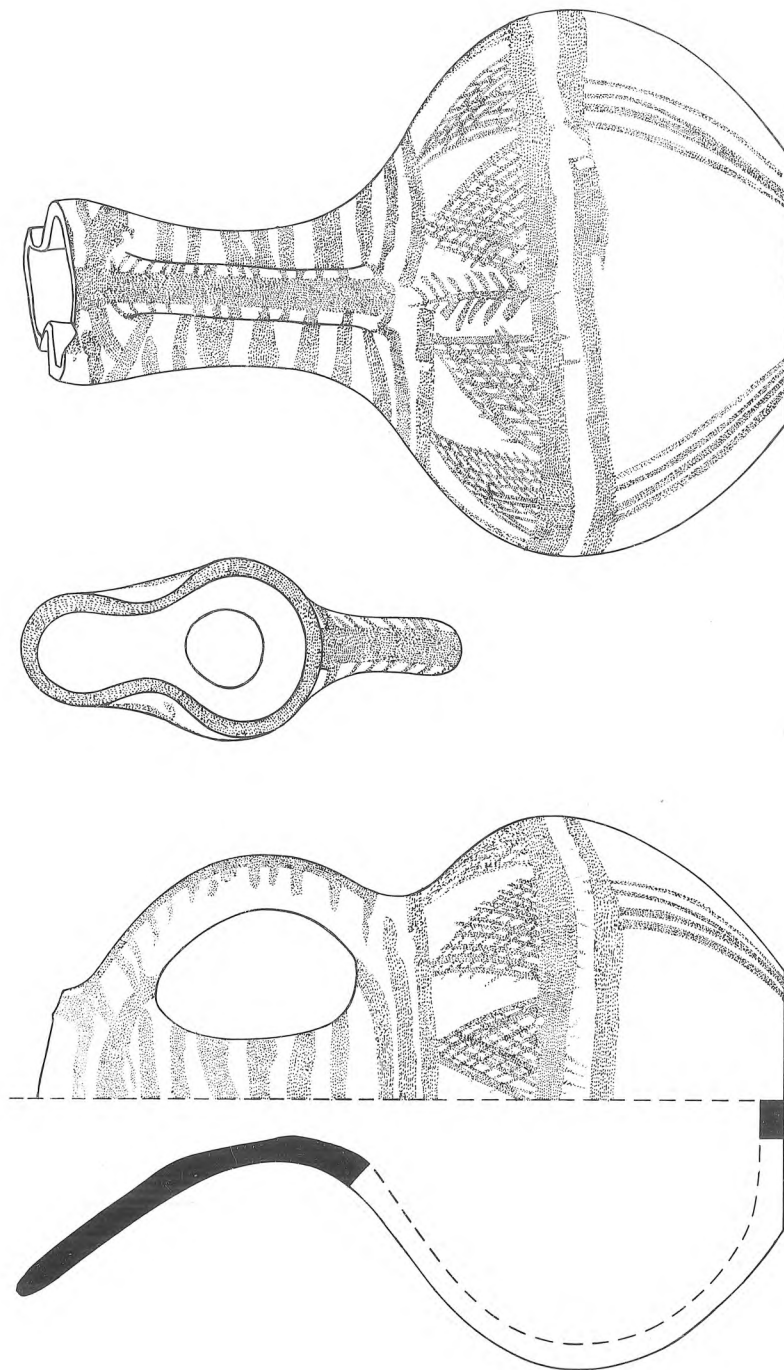


Abb. 3. Nordsyrisch/kilikische Kanne, APM 8419.

In der Türkei lassen sich inzwischen mehrere Plätze nennen, an denen nordsyrisch/kilikische Keramik gefunden wurde: Sakçe Gözü<sup>14)</sup>, Tilmen Hüyük<sup>15)</sup>, Tümökkale (Elvanlı), möglicherweise Silifke und Maltepe an der kilikischen Küste westlich von Mersin und im Göksu-Tal<sup>16)</sup> und schliesslich Kültepe<sup>17)</sup>, der für die zeitliche Einordnung der Ware wichtigste Fundplatz. Als westlichster Vertreter der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Keramik gilt eine vollständige Kanne, die in Zypern gefunden wurde<sup>18)</sup>. Ob diese Keramik auch unter dem Material aus Ras Shamra vorkommt, ist umstritten, HROUDA<sup>19)</sup> führt Beispiele an, die er zur nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware rechnet. Die einzige Kanne, die man der Form nach durchaus dazu zählen würde<sup>20)</sup>, ist allerdings zweifarbig bemalt. Bichrome Bemalung ist durch die Ausgrabungen in Gözlü Kule auf die ältesten SB I-Schichten festgelegt, d.h. sie tritt in einem der Zentren der Ware erst in dem Moment auf, wo ihre Produktion ausläuft<sup>21)</sup>. Abgesehen von dieser Kanne fehlen in Ras Shamra die für die nordsyrisch/kilikische Keramik typischen Formen und Malmuster. SWIFT<sup>22)</sup> hält daher das Material aus Ras Shamra für nicht direkt mit der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware vergleichbar und konstatiert in der Verbreitung der Keramik eine „cultural borderline, separating northern and inland Syria from its southern and coastal regions“.

**Datierung:** Die nordsyrisch/kilikische Keramik kann aufgrund ihres Auftretens in stratigraphisch gesichertem Kontext relativ gut datiert werden. Sie kommt zum ersten Mal vor in den „Transitional EB III/MB“-Schichten von Gözlü Kule und in der *karum*-Schicht IV in Kültepe, ihr Auftauchen wird an allen anderen Fundstätten gleichzeitig mit diesen beiden chronologischen Fixpunkten angesetzt. Das absolute Datum des Beginns von MB I in Anatolien, also des Überganges von FB III zu MB in Gözlü Kule und die erste Besied-

(aus Tell Tuqan); G. CASTELLINO et al., *MAIS, Camp.* 1965 (Rom 1966), Taf. LXXVII: 1; LXXXI: 5; LXXXVI: 1, 10.

<sup>14)</sup> J. WAECHTER et al., *Belleten* XV (1951), 196.

<sup>15)</sup> U. B. ALKIM, *Or NS* 33 (1964), 505: „many fragments of the so-called Syrian and Khabur-pottery“ wurden in den Schichten IIIa und b unter dem Fussboden des alt-babylonischen Palastes der Schicht IIc gefunden.

<sup>16)</sup> Diese Fundstätten wurden von MELLAART im Zusammenhang mit einem survey der Konya-Ebene untersucht; s. *Belleten* XXII (1958), Taf. V: 61-63.

<sup>17)</sup> T. ÖZGÜC, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe* 1948 (Ankara 1950), 198 f.; Taf. LX: 327 = Taf. LXXIX: 617 und Taf. LX: 331 = Taf. LXXVII: 595 aus Schicht IV; Taf. LX: 328 = Taf. LXXIX: 616 auf Schicht II; Taf. LX: 341 a und b, nicht schichtbestimmt; ders. *Belleten* XIX (1955), fig. 29 a und b.

<sup>18)</sup> M. V. SETON WILLIAMS o.c., fig. 3: 3, aus Ayia Paraskevi.

<sup>19)</sup> B. HROUDA o.c., 29 f.

<sup>20)</sup> C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* II (Paris 1949), fig. 100: 30; UM 2 (1900-1750 v. Chr.).

<sup>21)</sup> H. GOLDMAN o.c., 183.

<sup>22)</sup> G. SWIFT jr. o.c., 46.



lung des *karum* in Kültepe wird um 2100 v. Chr.<sup>23)</sup> oder um 2000 v. Chr.<sup>24)</sup> angesetzt.

SWIFT<sup>25)</sup> allerdings schliesst sich dieser allgemein herrschenden Ansicht nicht an, er hält die Scherben der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Keramik in der *karum*-Schicht IV für eine chronologische Anomalie, da sie isoliert von dem späteren, auf *karum*-Schicht II festgelegtem Material auftreten. Er möchte diese Funde bei der chronologischen Einordnung der Ware ausser Betracht lassen und plädiert für ein Anfangsdatum um 1900 v. Chr. Der Grund für diese Spätdatierung liegt darin, dass er in der Amuq-Ebene zwischen das Ende der Phase J (um 2000 v. Chr.) und die Phase L, die durch die nordsyrisch/kilikische Keramik charakterisiert wird, die Phase K einfügen muss. Diese Phase ist in Judeide in TT 20 erfasst und archäologisch nur durch Begehungs- und Siedlungsschichten ohne Architekturreste definiert<sup>26)</sup>, sie enthält ausserdem 13% älteres Scherbenmaterial (aus den Phasen H, I, J). Typisch für die Keramik der Phase K ist eine Schale aus grob gemagertem Ton mit ausladendem Rand und Bemalung mit schrägen Strichbündeln und schraffierten Dreiecken. Diese Schalen unterscheiden sich von den verwandten Schalen der Phase L, die eine Leitform der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware ist, vor allem durch ihre Tonqualität<sup>27)</sup>. Wie SWIFT betont, ist die stratigraphische Abgrenzung der Phase K und damit auch die Identifizierung der unbemalten Waren so problematisch, dass es kaum gerechtfertigt ist, sie als gesonderte chronologische Einheit zu behandeln<sup>28)</sup>. Für die Datierung des Beginnes der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Keramik liefern also die Untersuchungen in der Amuq-Ebene keine *sicheren* Anhaltspunkte.

Das Ende der Ware lässt sich an einigen Fundstätten eindeutig festlegen, an anderen jedoch schwerer abgrenzen. In Tell Atshana kommt sie in Schicht VII nicht mehr vor, deren Anfang von MELLINK<sup>29)</sup> um 1800 v. Chr. angesetzt wird, von COLLON<sup>30)</sup> um 1720 v. Chr. In der Amuq-Ebene ist sie typisch für die Phase L, die SWIFT<sup>31)</sup> gleichzeitig mit Tell Atshana, Schichten XIV bis VIII datiert. In Kültepe bricht sie mit *karum* I b (um 1800 v. Chr.), das ein

<sup>23)</sup> H. GOLDMAN o.c., 64 und J. MELLAART, *CAH* I, 2, Ch. XXIVa (Cambridge 1971), 693.

<sup>24)</sup> M. MELLINK in R. W. EHRICH ed., *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago 1965), 126.

<sup>25)</sup> G. SWIFT jr. o.c., 45; 52-54.

<sup>26)</sup> S. dazu auch R. C. HAINES, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch* II (OIP XCV, Chicago 1971), 26 mit Anm. 3.

<sup>27)</sup> G. SWIFT jr. o.c. 12-14; fig. 1.

<sup>28)</sup> o.c. 52.

<sup>29)</sup> in R. W. EHRICH ed. o.c., 119.

<sup>30)</sup> D. COLLON, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (AOAT 27, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975), 143.

<sup>31)</sup> o.c., 42.

anderes keramisches Repertoire aufweist, etwa um dieselbe Zeit ab<sup>32)</sup>, und die noch unveröffentlichten Grabungen in Tilmen Hüyük, wo diese Ware in den Schichten unter dem Palast der altbabylonischen Zeit gefunden wurde, ergeben einen ähnlichen Befund.

Weniger eindeutig liegen die Verhältnisse in Gözlü Kule, wo die nordsyrisch/kilikische Keramik für alle MB-Schichten (1900/1850-1650 v. Chr.)<sup>33)</sup> charakteristisch ist, laut GOLDMAN<sup>34)</sup> jedoch mit letzten Ausläufern noch in den ältesten SB I-Schichten zu finden ist. Mersin ergibt einen ähnlichen Befund: hier ist die nordsyrisch/kilikische Ware zwar für die ältesten Schichten von XI typisch, einige Scherben mit ähnlichen Mustern kommen jedoch noch in Schicht VIII und VII vor<sup>35)</sup>. Man fragt sich, ob hier nicht eine ähnliche Entwicklung wie in Tell Atshana vorliegt, wo mit der bemalten Keramik von Schicht VI-V zwar die Tradition der älteren bemalten Keramik wieder aufgenommen wird, sich allerdings deutlich neue Formen und Motive herauschälen<sup>36)</sup>.

Sowohl SETON WILLIAMS<sup>36)</sup> wie HROUDA<sup>37)</sup> datieren das Ende der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Keramik in das 16. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Sie stützen sich dabei einerseits auf den Befund in Gözlü Kule, der verglichen mit der Amuq-Ebene, Tell Atshana, Kültepe und Tilmen Hüyük atypisch genannt werden kann, andererseits auf die Laufzeit der von HROUDA zur „syrischen Keramik“ gerechneten bemalten Keramik von UM 2 und 3 in Ras Shamra (1900-1750 und 1750 — 1600 v. Chr.), die jedoch nicht identisch ist mit der inzwischen besser abgegrenzten nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware.

Eine Laufzeit von 200 bis 300 Jahren, also von 2100/2000 v. Chr. bis 1800/1700 v. Chr., die die stratigraphischen Verhältnisse in Tell Atshana, Kültepe und Tilmen Hüyük nahelegen, scheint für die völlig einheitliche und sich kaum entwickelnde nordsyrisch/kilikische Ware einleuchtend.

*Vorläufer der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware:* HROUDA<sup>38)</sup> und SWIFT<sup>40)</sup> haben darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass einige Motive, die für die nordsyrisch/kilikische Keramik charakteristisch sind, in der Amuq-Ebene bereits in der bemalten Ware der Phasen I und J in der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrtausends

<sup>32)</sup> M. MELLINK in R. W. EHRICH ed. o.c., 120.

<sup>33)</sup> H. GOLDMAN o.c., 63.

<sup>34)</sup> o.c., 183; fig. 302; 992-995; 309: 1009; 311: 1044, 1045; 313; 374: 1045; 378: 1014; 379: 1044; 380: 1075, 1077.

<sup>35)</sup> J. GARSTANG o.c., 241; fig. 155.

<sup>36)</sup> WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, 315-318, der die Kontinuität betont, dagegen M. MELLINK, *AJA* 61 (1957), 398.

<sup>37)</sup> o.c., 64 f.

<sup>38)</sup> o.c., 28-30.

<sup>39)</sup> o.c., 28.

<sup>40)</sup> o.c., 53.

aufkommen. Es sind dies das „Auge“ unter der Mündung von Kleeblattkannen und die umlaufenden Bänder auf der Halszone derselben Kannen <sup>41)</sup>, gegitterte Dreiecke und Tierdarstellungen <sup>42)</sup> und Querstriche auf den Henkeln <sup>43)</sup>. In diesem Zusammenhang muss auch die Bemerkung WOOLLEY's <sup>44)</sup> über eine mögliche Vorstufe der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware in Tell Atshana, Schicht XVII, die MELLINK mit dem Ende von Amuq J gleichsetzt <sup>45)</sup>, erwähnt werden. Aus dem Befund in der Amuq-Ebene kann man ableiten, dass sich hier die nordsyrisch/kilikische Keramik kontinuierlich aus einer lokalen Tradition bemalter Keramik der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrtausends entwickelt haben kann. Zumindest in diesem Gebiet muss sie jedenfalls nicht mit dem Zustrom fremder ethnischer Gruppen verknüpft werden <sup>46)</sup>. Ob die Verbreitung der Ware nach Kilikien hinein und weiter nach Anatolien mit gewaltsamen Eroberungen <sup>47)</sup> oder intensiven Handelskontakten <sup>48)</sup> zu erklären ist, lässt sich anhand des archäologischen Materials allein nicht entscheiden.

*Einordnung der Kanne:* Für die nordsyrisch/kilikische Keramik typische Formen sind Kleeblattkannen <sup>49)</sup>, die oft mit einem Auge unter der Mündung verziert sind und daher „Augenkannen“ („hawk-eye jugs“) genannt werden, und Schalen mit oder ohne hohen Fuss und ausladendem Rand <sup>50)</sup>. Die Oberfläche der Gefäße ist beige bis rot/braun, die Malfarbe, die direkt auf den Tongrund aufgetragen wird, rotbraun bis schwarz; manchmal werden die Gefäße vor oder nach der Bemalung poliert. Charakteristische Malmuster sind schraffierte Dreiecke, umlaufende Bänder, Zickzack- und Wellenlinien und das sogenannte „Klappmuschel“-Motiv („double axe“, „butterfly“), das auf Kannen häufig in Metopengliederung abwechselnd mit Tiermotiven auftritt <sup>51)</sup>. Henkel von Kannen und Ränder von Schalen sind häufig mit Gruppen kurzer Striche verziert, der untere Henkelansatz wird mit zweig-ähnlichen Motiven betont <sup>52)</sup>. Mehrere dieser typischen Merkmale zeigt auch unsere Kanne.

Die besten Parallelen für die Form unserer Kanne sind nicht nur im frühen zweiten Jahrtausend v. Chr., sondern schon im ausgehenden 3. Jahrtausend zu

<sup>41)</sup> R. J. BRAIDWOOD-L. BRAIDWOOD, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch* (OIP LXI, Chicago 1960), fig. 317: 5; 318: 4.

<sup>42)</sup> o.c. fig. 344: 30, 27.

<sup>43)</sup> o.c. fig. 343: 7, 14; 344: 2, 8.

<sup>44)</sup> WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, 307.

<sup>45)</sup> M. MELLINK, *AJA* 61 (1957), 396.

<sup>46)</sup> so M. MELLINK l.c.

<sup>47)</sup> H. GOLDMAN, s.c., 40.

<sup>48)</sup> J. MELLAART, *CAH* I.2, Ch. XXIVa (Cambridge 1971) 697.

<sup>49)</sup> M. V. SETON WILLIAMS o.c., fig. 2: 9; 3: 1-9.

<sup>50)</sup> o.c., fig. 4: 2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11.

<sup>51)</sup> o.c., fig. 2: 4, 7; 3: 5, 7.

<sup>52)</sup> o.c., fig. 2: 9, 13; 3: 4, 5, 7.

finden. Mündung und Henkelansatz entsprechen einem Fragment aus FB III-Schichten in Gözlü Kule <sup>53)</sup> und einem Stück, das in die Amuq-Phase I gehört <sup>54)</sup>. Gut vergleichen lässt sich auch eine Serie von Miniaturkannen aus MB-Schichten in Gözlü Kule <sup>55)</sup>. Die gerade Standfläche finden wir an einer ähnlichen Kanne aus der *karum*-Schicht II in Kültepe <sup>56)</sup>, den kugelig gedrückten Körper zeigt eine Kanne aus Mersin pit 163 (gleichzeitig mit Schicht XI) <sup>57)</sup>. Eine Kanne aus der ältesten Schicht der Phase H in Hama <sup>58)</sup>, die eine fast identische Bemalung aufweist und daher für die Datierung unserer Kanne wichtig ist, lässt sich auch in der Form gut vergleichen, obwohl die Mündung nicht mehr erhalten ist.

Die Bemalung der Halszone mit umlaufenden Bändern findet sich in der Amuq-Ebene und Kilikien schon im ausgehenden 3. Jahrtausend, wie die beiden oben angeführten Fragmente <sup>59)</sup> zeigen. Auch die ältere der von Margueron publizierten Kannen hat dieselben Halsstreifen, sie kann in die Zeit von Amuq I datiert werden <sup>60)</sup>. Andererseits ist diese Art, den Hals von Krügen zu betonen, gleichzeitig mit der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Keramik an bemalten Gefäßen in Ras Shamra zu belegen <sup>61)</sup>.

Die schraffierten Dreiecke sind ein sehr gebräuchliches Motiv in der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware, sie kommen in allerlei Varianten und in den verschiedensten Anordnungen vor <sup>62)</sup>. Das charakteristischste Element ist jedoch das „Bäumchen“, das direkt unter dem Henkelansatz zwischen zwei Dreiecke eingefügt ist und die Querstriche auf dem Henkel, die durch ein breites Band übermalt sind. Für das Bäumchen unter dem Henkelansatz und als Füllmotiv sind Parallelen aus Gözlü Kule <sup>63)</sup> zu nennen, aus Tell Atshana <sup>64)</sup> und aus Fundstätten, die Gjerstad bei seinem Kilikien-survey <sup>65)</sup> untersucht hat. Die Querstriche auf dem Henkel sind noch häufiger als das Bäumchen,

<sup>53)</sup> H. GOLDMAN o.c., fig. 272: 562.

<sup>54)</sup> R. J. BRAIDWOOD-L. BRAIDWOOD o.c., fig. 317: 5.

<sup>55)</sup> H. GOLDMAN o.c., fig. 296: 851, 848; 369: 858.

<sup>56)</sup> T. ÖZGÜC, *Belleten* XIX (1955), fig. 29 a.

<sup>57)</sup> J. GARSTANG o.c., fig. 148: 9.

<sup>58)</sup> E. FUGMAN, *Hama* II. 1, fig. 109: 3H197.

<sup>59)</sup> s. Anm. 41), 53) und 54).

<sup>60)</sup> J. MARGUERON, *Syria* XLV (1968), fig. 2; 3.

<sup>61)</sup> C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* II, fig. 131: 3, 4, 7-10, 13-15. Alle UM 2 (1900-1750 v. Chr.) oder Anfang UM 3 (1750-1600 v. Chr.)

<sup>62)</sup> z.B. H. GOLDMAN o.c., fig. 369: 858; J. GARSTANG o.c., fig. 148: 4, 7, 10; WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, Taf. XCI (Mitte links); XCIII h. Dasselbe Motiv kommt häufig auch in der Khabur-Ware vor: B. HROUDA o.c., 25; M. E. L. MALLOWAN, *Iraq* IV (1937), fig. 21: 4, 7, 8; 23: 7; B. ABU AL-SOOF, *Sumer* XXVI (1970), Taf. XXXIII: 2, 9, 13, 14; C. HAMLIN, *Iran* XII (1974), fig. XII: a, b; XIII: f, i, l, n, o, u.

<sup>63)</sup> H. GOLDMAN o.c., fig. 291: 909; 309: 1009. letztere aus LB I-Schichten.

<sup>64)</sup> WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, Taf. XCI Mitte links; XCII, ATP 47/114; XCVIII c.

<sup>65)</sup> E. GJERSTAD, *Rév. Arch.*, 6<sup>ème</sup> sér. III-IV (1934), fig. 18 B, unten rechts.



Gözlü Kule <sup>66)</sup>, Mersin <sup>67)</sup>, Tell Atshana <sup>68)</sup>, Mishrife <sup>69)</sup> und ein weiterer Fundplatz in Kilikien <sup>70)</sup> ergeben die besten Parallelen.

Die vierfachen, vertikalen Streifenbündel, die vom untersten Horizontalband zum Boden gezogen sind, sind in der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Keramik nur einmal auf einer Kanne nachzuweisen <sup>71)</sup>, allerdings gibt es eine Gruppe von einhenkligen Schalen, die vier vom Boden ausstrahlende Streifenbündel oder Bänder haben <sup>72)</sup>. Ob die Bodenscherben aus Yenice <sup>73)</sup>, die die gleiche Verzierung zeigen, zu ähnlichen Schalen oder zu Kannen gehören, lässt sich nicht entscheiden.

Ein auffälliger Zug unserer Kanne ist die feine Politur der Oberfläche. Häufig sind die Gefässe der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware nicht poliert, aber gerade das gelegentliche Vorkommen von Politur ist nach HROUDA ein wichtiger Unterschied zur unpolierten Khaburware <sup>74)</sup>. In Gözlü Kule <sup>75)</sup>, Telle Atshana <sup>76)</sup> und in der Amuq-Ebene, Phase L <sup>77)</sup> ist die polierte Variante der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Keramik am besten vertreten. Sie unterscheidet sich, was Formen und Dekor angeht nicht von der grossen Menge der unpolierten Gefässe, ist jedoch oft sorgfältiger gearbeitet. Den einzigen Hinweis für die Datierung der polierten Gefässe liefert Tell Atshana, wo einige Beispiele dieser Gruppe im Tempel der Schicht XIV und einem Wohnhaus der Schicht XV gefunden <sup>78)</sup>. In späteren Schichten kommen keine polierten Gefässe mehr vor, WOOLLEY nimmt daher an, dass sie typisch für die früheste Phase der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware ist <sup>79)</sup>. Dieselbe polierte Variante taucht als Oberflächenfund die GJERSTAD's Kilikien-survey auf <sup>80)</sup>.

<sup>66)</sup> H. GOLDMAN o.c., fig. 291: 912 a, b; 370: 857, 868; 374: 887, 888, 1045 letztere aus LB I-Schichten.

<sup>67)</sup> J. GARSTANG o.c., fig. 143: 2; 148: 10.

<sup>68)</sup> WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, Taf. XCI oben und Mitte links; LXXXIVa, ATP 47/129 (!); XCII, Mitte.

<sup>69)</sup> DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, *Syria* VIII (1927), Taf. XI: 1.

<sup>70)</sup> E. GJERSTAD, *Rév. Arch.* 6<sup>ème</sup> sér. III-IV (1934), fig. 8 B, 2. von oben.

<sup>71)</sup> E. FUGMAN, *Hama* II. 1, fig. 109: 3H197; Kannen aus Ras Shamra, die mit ähnlichen Streifenbündeln verziert sind, sind gleichzeitig, gehören aber nicht zur nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware, C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* II, fig. 104: 27; 105: 37; 107: 28.

<sup>72)</sup> H. GOLDMAN o.c., fig. 289: 813; 290: 812; 291: 820, 821; WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*. Taf. XCI, ATP 47/119, ATP 47/152; XCII, AT 48/33.

<sup>73)</sup> E. GJERSTAD, *Rév. Arch.* 6<sup>ème</sup> sér. III-IV (1934), fig. 16 links.

<sup>74)</sup> B. HROUDA o.c., 27. S. aber das Auftreten vereinzelter Gefässe, deren Oberfläche vor der Bemalung poliert wurde unter der Khabur-Ware in Dinkha-tepe, C. HAMLIN, *Iran* XII (1974), 127.

<sup>75)</sup> H. GOLDMAN o.c., fig. 287: 781 und „fragmentary material“, S. 165.

<sup>76)</sup> WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, 305.

<sup>77)</sup> G. SWIFT jr. o.c., 16 „fine painted ware“.

<sup>78)</sup> WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, 305; Taf. LXXXIV a, ATP 47/129 (!) und b. ATP 47/142.

<sup>79)</sup> o.c. 305.

<sup>80)</sup> E. GJERSTAD, *Rév. Arch.* 6<sup>ème</sup> sér. III-IV (1934), 171.

Für die P-förmige Töpfermarke, die vor dem Brand auf der Basis unserer Kanne angebracht wurde (Abb. 4), lässt sich aus dem Verbreitungsgebiet der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware keine direkte Parallele nennen. Wohl findet sich das Zeichen in auffälliger Konzentration in Schichten des späten 3./frühen 2. Jahrtausends am mittleren Euphrat, z.B. in Habuba Kebire <sup>81)</sup> und in Tell

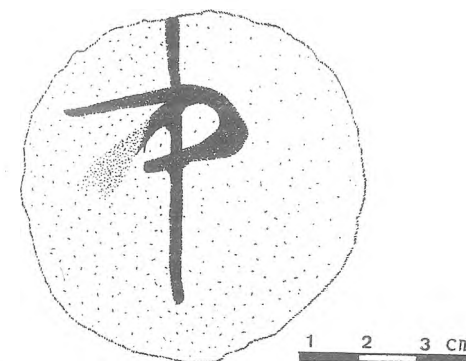


Abb. 4. Töpfermarke auf der Basis von APM 8419.

Sweyhat <sup>82)</sup>. Es handelt sich in diesen beiden Fällen um Marken, die an deutlich sichtbarer Stelle vor dem Brand auf der Schulter von tiefen Näpfen oder Vorratsgefässen eingeritzt wurden. Das P finden wir — in doppelter Ausführung — in Ras Shamra auf einem nicht näher zu datierendem Webgewicht <sup>83)</sup> und auf einem Gefäss aus sehr viel späterer Zeit, das der Töpfer wieder mit der Malfarbe „signiert“ hat <sup>84)</sup>. Es scheint plausibel, die Marke auf unserer Kanne als echte Töpfermarke oder vielleicht besser als Malersignatur zu bezeichnen. Sie unterscheidet sich offensichtlich von den Marken, die an sichtbarer Stelle auf Gefässen angebracht wurden — wie die P-förmigen Marken von Habuba Kebire und Tell Sweyhat — und die noch nicht befriedigend erklärt werden können <sup>85)</sup>.

<sup>81)</sup> D. SÜRENHAGEN, *MDOG* 103 (1971), fig. 19: 8-11. Dieselbe Marke gibt es auch auf Lehmziegeln, s. J.-C. HEUSCH-K. KOHLMAYER *MDOG* 105 (1973), fig. 19, 2. Reihe rechts.

<sup>82)</sup> T. A. HOLLAND, *Levant* VIII (1976), fig. 8: 4, 5.

<sup>83)</sup> C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* II, fig. 96: 5.

<sup>84)</sup> o.c. fig. 90: 2, UR 1450-1365 v. Chr. Dasselbe Zeichen taucht als Zeichen der kyprominoischen Schrift auf der Basis von mykenischen Gefässen auf, s. H.-G. BUCHHOLZ, *AA* 1974, 391-395; fig. 52 h, k, n. Ein Zusammenhang soll aber hier nicht suggeriert werden.

<sup>85)</sup> Siehe die zusammenfassende Behandlung der Gefässmarken aus Boghazköy: U. SEIDL, *Die Gefässmarken von Boghazköy* (WVDOG 88, Berlin 1972) und aus Cypern: P. ÅSTRÖM, *Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Jakovos in Cyprus* (SMA II, Lund 1966), 149-192 und ders., *Opuscula Athen.* 9 (1969), 151-160. Für das uns hier interessierende Gebiet im späten 3./frühen 2. Jahrtausend s. ausser den schon von D. SÜRENHAGEN, o.c. angeführten Marken noch C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* II, fig. 96: 3, 14, 21, 22 (Ras Shamra); DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, *Baghouz, L'Ancienne Corsoté* (DMOA III,

Versuchen wir nun abschliessend, unsere Kanne zu datieren, so lässt sich feststellen, dass die meisten stratigraphisch gesicherten Parallelen für eine Datierung in die frühe Phase der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Keramik sprechen. Ein wichtiges Indiz ist, dass die Kanne nicht auf der schnelldrehenden Scheibe hergestellt ist, was offensichtlich für die Ware später die Regel ist<sup>86</sup>). Die besten Parallelen für die Form der Kanne finden sich in Mersin XI (Anfang 20. Jahrhundert v. Chr.), Kültepe *karum*-Schicht II (ca. 1925-1850/40 v. Chr.) sowie in Gözlü Kule FB III (2400-2100 v. Chr.) und „Transitional“ EB III/MB — MB (2100-1900/1850 v. Chr.; 1900/1850-1650 v. Chr.). Die Streifenbemalung der Halszone taucht schon in Amuq I (ca. 2500-2250) und in Gözlü Kule EB III auf, die Politur ist wenigstens in Tell Atshana auf die ältere nordsyrisch/kilikische Keramik (Schichten XV/XIV) beschränkt. Die beste Parallele für die Bemalung der Kanne ist in Hama H 5 gefunden worden<sup>87</sup>), der ältesten Schicht der Phase H, die von 1900 bis ins 16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.<sup>88</sup>) datiert wird. Damit ergibt sich ein Entstehungsdatum für unsere Kanne im 20. oder 19. Jahrhundert v. Chr.

So lange das Verbreitungsgebiet der nordsyrisch/kilikischen Ware nicht genauer abgegrenzt ist, ist es schwierig, die Kanne geographisch einzuordnen. Man ist geneigt, sie einem der beiden Zentren zuzuschreiben, aus denen diese Keramikgattung bisher am besten bekannt ist, nämlich der Amuq-Ebene oder Kilikien; dies muss jedoch, wie so oft bei Objekten, die aus illegalen Ausgrabungen stammen und über den Kunsthandel nach Europa gebracht werden, reine Spekulation bleiben<sup>89</sup>).

Amsterdam, August 1977

G. WILD-WÜLKER

Leiden 1948), Taf. LXXXI-LXXXIV (Baghuz); ders., *Le site archéologique de Mishrifé-Qatna* (Paris 1935), fig. 43: 196, 198; Taf. XLIX (Mishrife); M. E. L. MALLOWAN, *Iraq* III (1936), fig. 14: 12; ders., *Iraq* IV (1937), fig. 22: 12 (Chagher Bazar); H. INGHOULT, *Sept Campagnes...*, 31 f., er erwähnt Marken auf Töpfen wie Taf. IX: 1, 2 (Hama); R. J. BRAIDWOOD-L. BRAIDWOOD o.c., fig. 345: 3, 6; 346: 1; 347: 7 (Amuq J).

<sup>86</sup>) B. HROUDA o.c., 27 gegen M. V. SETON WILLIAMS o.c., 58.

<sup>87</sup>) S. Anm. 58 und Anm. 71.

<sup>88</sup>) E. FUGMAN, *Hama* II, 1, 110-116.

<sup>89</sup>) Die Kanne soll in Urfa gekauft worden sein. Dieser Ort liegt ausserhalb des bisher bekannten Verbreitungsgebietes der Ware.

## THE OLD BABYLONIAN TEXTS IN THE ALLARD PIERSON MUSEUM

With the kind permission of Prof. J. M. HEMELRIJK, director of the Allard Pierson Museum (Amsterdam), W. H. VAN SOLDT and M. STOL here publish the Old Babylonian tablets from the museum's collection. A short description of the tablets has already been supplied by M. STOL in the *Mededelingenblad Vereniging van Vrienden van het Allard Pierson Museum*, no. 8 (July 1974), p. 6, 8. Mr. VAN SOLDT publishes a litigation and two dockets, Mr. STOL a contract.

### 1. A litigation (W. H. VAN SOLDT)

This tablet, inventory no. 6435, was purchased by the APM from the late Prof. D. COHEN, who bought it from an art dealer. The text itself suggests an origin from the environment of Larsa (v. infra).

The tablet measures  $7.8 \times 4.4 \times 2.5$  cm; the obverse is almost flat, the reverse convex. The signs have suffered from salt (cf. PL. IX), and consequently a number of readings are uncertain. On the bottom edge, upon which nothing was written, traces of (a) seal(s) are still discernible.

### Translation

Sin-inguranni and Pirḫum approached Nabû-malik; Nabû-malik sent them to Ḥarḥarri, to the city and the elders, and a soldier of Nabû-malik accompanied them, and when they reached Razama, Sin-inguranni spoke thus to Pirḫum: "I was not able to harvest, I could not look after the reaping; give me 1 shekel of silver on behalf of the fact that I did service with you for ten days, so that I can go away". . . . , Pirḫum saw 3 inhabitants of Ḥarḥarri and they discussed (the affair) in the Ninurta gate and they declared that he had not been able to harvest nor to carry out the reaping; the brothers (colleagues?) who attended, spoke to Pirḫum, and Pirḫum gave 1 shekel of silver to Sin-inguranni. That he (Pirḫum) will not sue Sin-inguranni again, he swore by Nanna, Šamaš, Marduk and king Ḥammurabi.

Witnesses: Apil-Amurru, Awil-Šamaš, Šēp-Sin, Sin-gimlanni, Ipqu-Erra, Šamaš-liwwir the . . .

Month: Waraḥsamna, year in which Ḥammurabi (became) king.

### Commentary

3/4. *Ana* PN *teḫûm*, cf. for *teḫûm* as a juridical expression (to approach an authority) also JCS 24, 66 no. 67, 6; AfO 24, 121 no. 2, 5 (both G-stem);



## Transliteration

- O. 1 <sup>pa</sup>EN.ZU--im-gur-an-ni  
 ù pi-ir-hu-um  
 a-na <sup>na</sup>bu-ù--ma-lik  
 it-hu-ù-ma
- 5 [p]<sup>na</sup>bu-ù--ma-lik  
 a-na uru<sup>ki</sup> har-har-ri-i  
 a-na a-lim ù ši-bu-tim  
 it-ru-sù-nu-ti-ma  
 aga. uš ša <sup>na</sup>b[u]-ù--ma-lik
- 10 it-ti-šu-nu il-li-ik-ma  
 uru<sup>ki</sup>ra-za-ma  
 i-na ka-ša-[d]i-im  
<sup>pa</sup>EN.ZU--im-[gur]-an-ni  
 a-na pi-ir-h[u]-um
- 15 ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma šu-ma!  
 e-bu-ra-am ù-ùl e-pu-uš  
 ù e-še-dam ù-ùl a-mu-ur  
 a-na ša it-ti-ka  
 u<sub>4</sub>. 10. kam al-li-ku
- 20 1 gín kù. babbar id-na-am-ma  
 lu-ut-ta-la-ak  
 ki-ma x-x-ma <sup>pi</sup>ir-hu<-um>  
 3 l<sup>u</sup>dumu. meš uru<sup>ki</sup> har-har-ri-i  
 i-mu-ur-ma i-na ká <sup>nin</sup>.urta
- 25 id-bu-bu-ma! ki<-ma> e-bu-ra-am  
 la i-pu-šu ù e-še-dam  
 la i-pu-šu iq-ta-bu-ù  
 ah-hu ša iz-zi-zu-ù?  
 a-na pi-ir-hu-um iq-bu-ma
- 30 1 gín kù. babbar a-na <sup>pa</sup>EN.ZU--im-gur-an-ni  
<sup>pi</sup>ir-hu-um id-di-in  
 la i-tu-ru <sup>pa</sup>EN.ZU--im-gur-an-[ni]  
 la i-ge-ru-ù-ma
- B.E. mu <sup>na</sup>nanna <sup>utu</sup> <sup>ma</sup>arduk  
 35 ù ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal  
 [i]n. pād. d[a]
- L.E. igi a-pil--<sup>d</sup>[ma]r.tu  
 igi a-wi-[i]l--<sup>d</sup>utu  
 igi ši-ip--<sup>pa</sup>EN.ZU  
 40 igi <sup>pa</sup>EN.ZU--gi-im-la-an-ni  
 igi ip-qú--er-ra  
 igi <sup>utu</sup>--li-wi-ir níg-x  
 it<sup>u</sup>apin. d[u<sub>8</sub>]. a  
 mu ha-am-m[u-ra]-bi lugal

## APM 6435

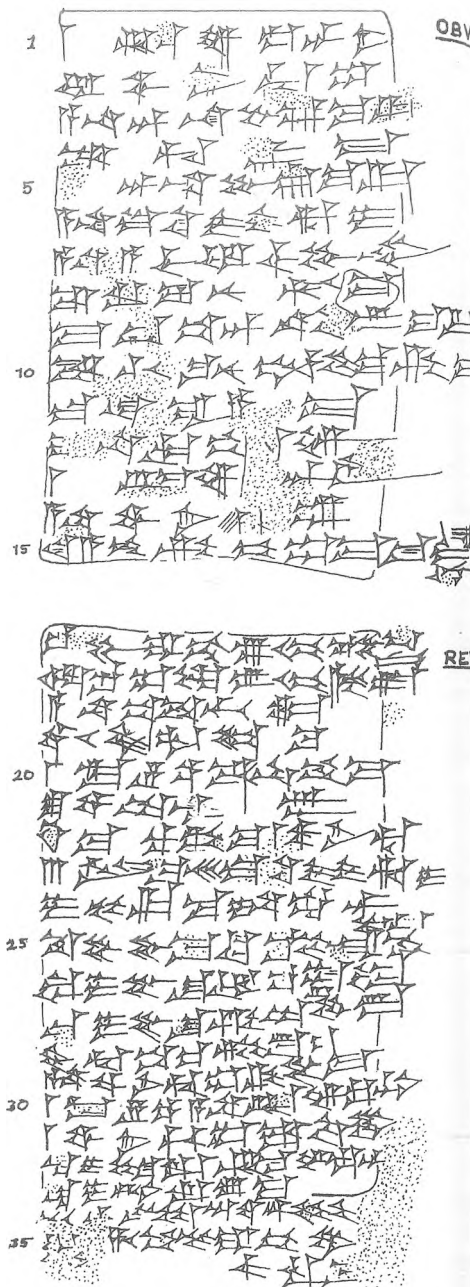
LEFT  
EDGE

AbB II, 178, 7; UET V, 257, 6 (both D-stem; see for UET V F. R. KRAUS, WdO 2, 133 and n. 2). This meaning of *tehūm* was not recorded by WALTHER, LSS VI, 212 ff.

3. Na-bu-ù—ma-lik, normally written Na-bi-um—ma-lik; similar writings are, however, attested in Mari, cf. ARMT XV, 153 and RA 66, 118, 24. Sometimes in OB texts the writing Na-bu-um—ma-lik occurs, e.g. YOS V, 159, 2 (Sin-iqīšam yr. 1), UET V, 443, 5 (Sin-eribam yr. 1?) and TLB I, 143, case 16 (Samsuiluna yr. 3). Cf. further the name A-hu-ù—wa-aq-ru-u[m] in a text from Larsa (YOS VIII, 78, 13).

6. The GN Harḥarri is elsewhere only attested in a letter to Sin-idinnam (AbB IV, 28, 8).

7. Cf. for attestations of this well-known clause in Southern Babylonia WALTHER, LSS VI, 64; CAD A/1, 383, 2a-3' and AHw 1228b, C2.

9. The first sign resembles a horizontally stretched MA, the second is certainly UŠ; see for a discussion of AGA MSL II, 75 ad 589 and for the transliteration F. R. KRAUS, Edikt 8, n. 4 (with literature).

11. The Southern Babylonian Razama is mentioned in the OB itinerary, JCS 7, 55, 9' as an intermediate station on the road from Babylon to Larsa, and at a distance of one day's journey (by boat = ca. 40 km., cf. W. HALLO, JCS 18, 65 and 84) from the last mentioned city. It occurs also in a contract (TCL XI, 250, 10) and a letter (AbB IV, 118, 5). This Razama must be kept apart from the Razamā mentioned in the Mari and Tell al-Rimah texts. Dr. M. STOL observes that it is hardly a coincidence that three cities in the North have almost exactly the same names as three cities in Southern Babylonia: Lakušir (ARM I, 26, 21 & 22) and Lakušira (BRM IV, 53, 50), Razamā (ARMT XV, 132, etc.) and Razama (see above), Tillā (ARMT XV, 136) and Tillā (AbB IV, 89, 4; VAS 13, 104, I, 8; III, 23). None of these names is Akkadian.

16. Ebūram epēšum, CAD E, 208a; OB only in Mari (RA 42, 71, 6-9-10).

17. Ešēdam amārum—"to look after the reaping", Cf. for amārum CAD A/2, 17b-2j: "to take care of, to look after" and the OB quotations, see also AbB IV, 53, Anm. 76b: "besorgen".

18. ana ša—"on behalf of the fact that", cf. AHw 48b s.v. E18 and GAG § 147h.

18/19. It is, of course, possible that itti PN alākum here only means 'to go with PN', but a translation "to do service with" seems more probable (v. infra); cf. LAUTNER, SD I, 175/6 with n. 521 and M. STOL, Studies in Old Babylonian History, 100.

22. First sign probably KI, the 3rd and 4th look like resp. PI and GA. The reading of the signs remains problematic; PA for the 3rd sign is also possible. A reading ši'-bi'-ma is ruled out by the shape of the signs. Since in the first

part of this line a parenthetic clause or a definition of a part of the main clause is in order, omission is presumably of no effect in the translation. Pirḫum h.l. without mimation; omission by scribe? (in 2, 14 and 29 with mimation).

23. Third sign probably DUMU.

24. *Amārum* in the sense of "to meet accidentally"? cf. *CAD* A/2, 10, 1c. Then P. would have met these 3 people by chance in Razama; a meaning "to visit", however, is also possible.

ká <sup>d</sup>nin.urta: the reading of the last 2 signs is not entirely certain, but probable; ká <sup>d</sup>nin.urta as "Schwurlokal" is attested in Nippur: *JCS* 3, 191; Larsa: *TCL* XVIII, 106, 14 and Kisurra? (J. Renger, *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient*, 144).

25. 4th sign (-ma<sup>1</sup>) is quite long; it is slightly damaged in the middle; at the left side of the break 2 heads of horizontal wedges are visible, which obviously continue at the right side until the vertical wedge; between them lies a short horizontal wedge and a little higher an oblique line (scratch?); see for another long MA line 11 (end of line!). The 5th sign is probably KI; as the subjunctives in 26 and 27 require a conjunction, an emendation *ki->ma* seems justified.

27. Instead of *īpušu* one would expect *īmuru* as in line 17; *iqtabû* stands as last verbal form in the consecutio temporum.

28. Last sign not certain, after ZU 2 tiny horizontal wedges and 1 vertical one, maybe ū (MA has 3 horizontals, of which the 2 outer ones are more removed from each other).

36. After PÀD 3 horizontal wedges, difficult to trace, presumably the beginning of DA.

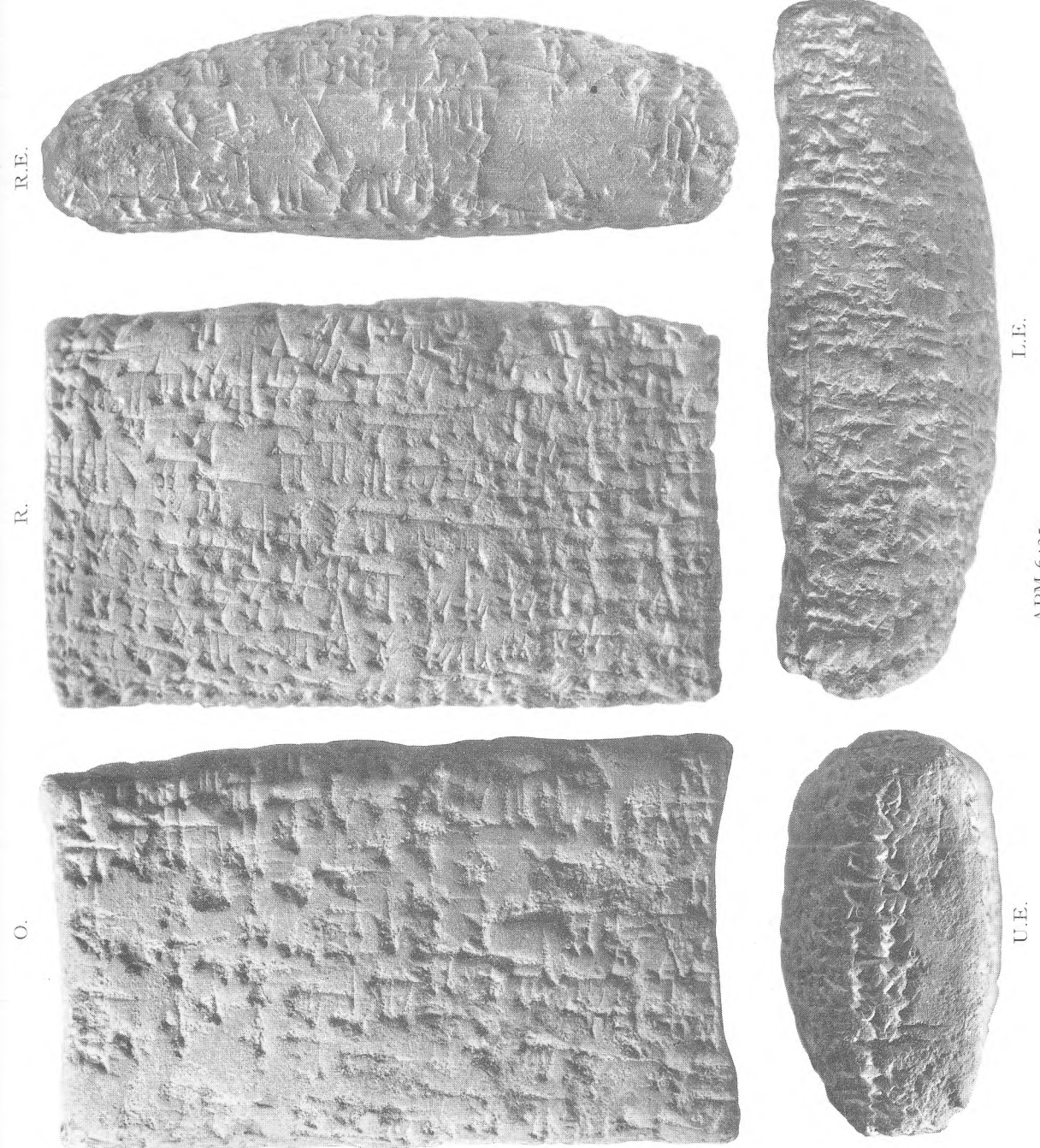
42. The last 2 signs raise a problem, since it is not clear whether they belong behind the last PN or are a part of the year name. As no year name after Ḫammurabi 31 justifies identification with these signs (NIG<sup>2</sup>-x), they probably belong to the PN and may represent a profession or the like.

43. Only the beginning of DU<sub>8</sub> is visible, A shows only 2 heads.

44. Year date: Ḫammurabi yr. 1, that is at Larsa; according to UNGNAD, *RLA* II, 178 ad 103 this formula equals Ḫammurabi yr. 31.

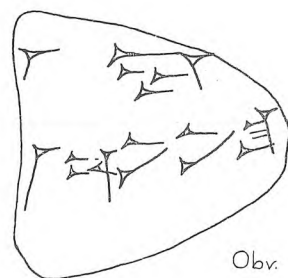
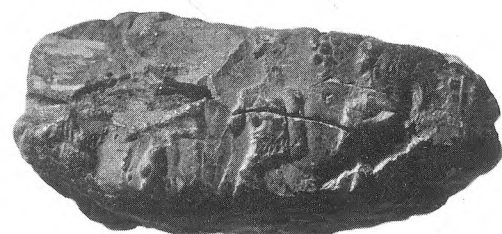
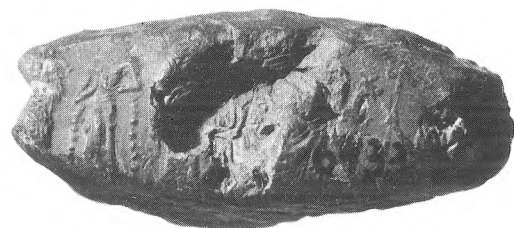
#### Interpretation

The course of events can be reconstructed as follows: Two men, Sin-im-guranni and Pirḫum, apply to Nabû-malik, a local authority as appears from line 9, where a *rēdûm* of N. is mentioned. N. sends them for unknown reasons to Ḫarḫarrî, a town near Larsa. When they have reached Razama (apparently on the road to Ḫarḫarrî) S. says to P. that he has not harvested and that he (P.) is to give him 1 shekel of silver because of the fact that he (S.) has been

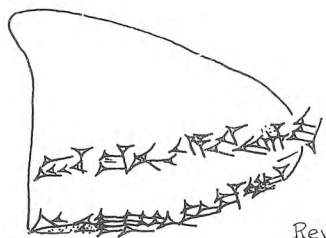


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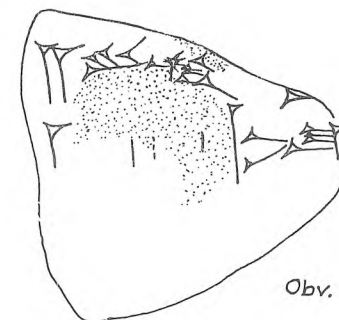


Obv.

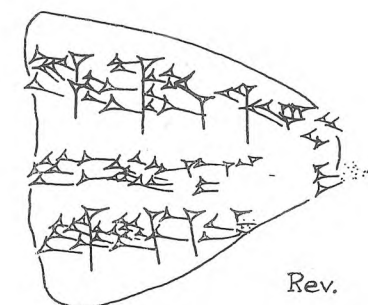


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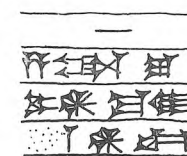
Obv.



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APM 6431



Seal inscription

serving with him for 10 days; thereupon he will go away. P. then sees 3 inhabitants of H., talks things over with them in the Ninurta gate and they declare that S. indeed did not harvest. "Brothers" (colleagues?), who attend, say to P. that he is to give the silver to S.

From the fact that 3 inhabitants of Harharri appear as witnesses and that the parties are on their way to this town, we may infer that at least one of them lives in H. This is in all likelihood S., whose fields, according to the testimony, are in H. From the statement by the inhabitants of H. it appears that the central point in this litigation is whether S. has harvested or not. That he apparently did not, results in a payment of one shekel of silver; obviously S. did not fail but sustained damage. It seems justified then, to understand the remark in 16-17 and 25-26 as was done in the translation. As the document is dated in the 8th month, presumably the harvest of the preceding spring/summer is at stake.

This reconstruction is, however, hampered by the passage in lines 16-20, where, in that case, the sequence should have been: 18-19-15-16-20; then the reason for not harvesting would lie in 15/6; as it is now the payment has to be made because of the 10 days of service.

If we brush aside these objections and understand 16-20 as if S. laid claim to a compensation for losses he suffered during the harvest, then still the reason for S. and P. approaching N. remains obscure. One can only suppose that they do so to solve the case of the damage, on behalf of which they are sent to H. Moreover, the exact relationship between the sum paid (1 shekel of silver) and the damage suffered from inability to harvest is not clear; was S. not able to harvest himself? To compensate a complete crop by 1 shekel seems rather little.

Another interpretation could be, that S. demands compensation on account of the fact that he has already been away from home for 10 days with P. to solve the present case, and thus was not able to join in the harvest; lines 16-20 would fit this reconstruction better. However, since the indemnification in the first place concerns the fact that S. could not harvest, a better sequence would still be the one proposed above. What makes this last interpretation improbable is the long duration of the journey (10 days), the date of the document (8th month) and the fact that the case, because of which they travel to H., remains totally obscure. As appears from 20/21 the case is settled as soon as the silver has been paid and this implies that a lawsuit other than the present one can hardly be taken into consideration.

Until texts turn up that can throw more light on this case, any attempted reconstruction is hazardous.



## 2. Two dockets (W. H. VAN SOLDT)

These 2 dockets originate from the same place as no. 6435 (cf. above). See for this type M. WEITEMEYER, *Some aspects of the hiring of workers in the Sippar region at the time of Hammurabi*, 54 ff., for addenda cf. M. STOL, *Studies* 97, n. 65. The dockets were originally attached to a string.

a. No. 6433 (3.5 × 3.5 × 1.7); see PL. X.

Transliteration:

obv. 1 šitim  
pèr—ì-lí-šu  
rev. iti/šu.numun.a u<sub>4</sub>.26.kam  
mu.alam.šud<sub>x</sub>.dè (Samsuiluna yr. 6)

This docket has a close parallel in GORDON, *Smith College Tablets* no. 59 (only differing in date: u<sub>4</sub>.30.kam; cf. also no. 58), ref. M. STOL. See for the seal impressions the photographs on PL. X.

b. No. 6431 (4.2 × 4.1 × 20.5); see PL. XI.

Transliteration:

obv. 2<sup>lú</sup>še<sup>?</sup>.gur<sub>10</sub><sup>?</sup>.kud<sup>?</sup>  
p[ ]-ni-šu  
rev. iti bār.zag.gar<sup>?</sup> u<sub>4</sub>.24.ka[m]  
mu sa-am-su-i-l[u-na] lugal  
á.ág.gá<sup>a</sup> en.l[íl.lá] (Samsuiluna 28).  
Seal  
za-li-lu-[um] / dumu<sup>a</sup> ma-mi-[tum] / [è]r<sup>a</sup> KA.[DI]

(no complete impression).

The name za-li-lum also occurs in TCL XI, 141, 22 and 167A, 8 (Larsa, resp. Hamm. 31 and 38), and BE VI/1, 44, 23 (Sippar), ref. K. VAN LERBERGHE.

## 3. A contract for hoeing a field (M. STOL)

The tablet published here bears the museum number No. 6428; its dimensions are 7.3 × 4.6 × 2.4 cm. It was bought in the art market in about 1936 by the late Prof. Dr. D. COHEN (University of Amsterdam). The tablet is inscribed with an Old Babylonian text according to which four individuals contract to hoe a field.

Transliteration

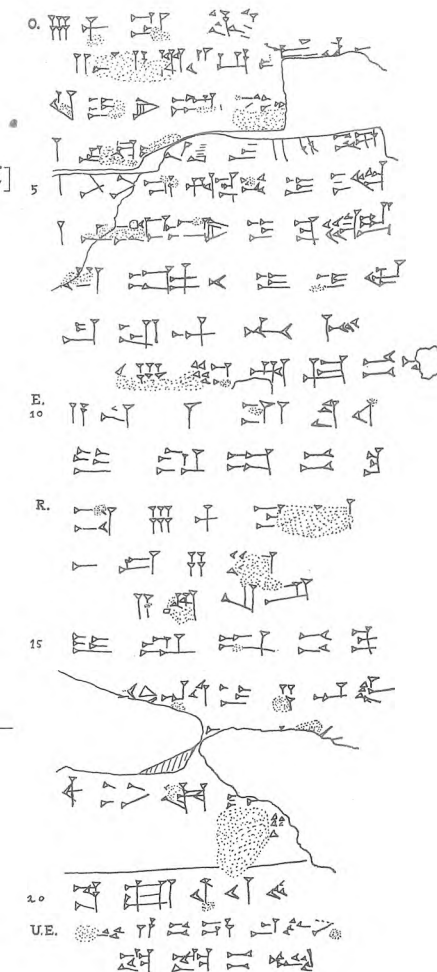
1 6 1/2 gín kù.babbar  
a-n[a] a.šà KI.KAL r[a]-pa-q[i]-[i]m  
ki dumu-er-se-tim d[umu (?) ...]  
p<sup>d</sup>E[N.Z]U-t[ab.b]a-šu (?) dumu a-ḥa-am-nir-[šì]  
5 pì-lí-e-ri-ba-am dumu dumu<sup>!</sup>-ištār  
p<sup>d</sup>E[N.Z]U<sup>?</sup>-ka<sup>?</sup>-ši-ir dumu ba-li-ja  
ù ap-pa-nu dumu dumu-ištār  
šu.ba<sup>!</sup>.an.ti.meš  
16 SAR ri-ip-qá-t[im]  
10 a-na 1 gín kù.babbar  
i-ra-ap-pí-qú  
š[a] 6 1/2 gín [k]ù.[babba]r  
1 iku 4 SA[R]  
a.šà KI.KAL  
15 i-ra-ap-pí-qú  
[igi] x-x<sup>a</sup>utu dumu níg-diškur  
[igi ...] x [...] x [n]u  
igi ì-lí-x x [.....]  
[dub].s[ar] (?)  
20 itu zíz.a u<sub>4</sub>.11.kam  
[m]u a-bi-e-šu-uh lugal<sup>!</sup>  
dug<sub>4</sub>.dug<sub>4</sub>.ga.maḥ  
Impressions of an unscribed seal

Translation

Six and half shekel of silver, for the hoeing of a KI.KAL-field, have Sintappašu (?), son of Aḥam-nirši, Ili-eribam, son of Mār-Ištar, Sin-kāšir (?), son of Baliya, and Appānu, son of Mār-Ištar, received from Mār-eršetim, s(on of ...) (?).

For one shekel of silver they will hoe a surface of 16 SAR field (to be) hoed; for six and half shekel of silver they will hoe one iku and four SAR of KI.KAL-field.

(Three witnesses; date: 11.XI Abi-ešuḥ "a")



## Commentary

This text is a labor contract styled as a loan. Most of the Old Babylonian harvest labor contracts are styled this way; see J. G. LAUTNER, *Altbabylonische Personenmiete und Erntearbeiterverträge* (1936), p. 15 ff., 145 ff. Our text resembles an Old Babylonian contract published by M. RUTTEN in *RA* 54 (1960), p. 19 f., No. 26, also styled as a loan. The formulary of that text, however, is different: "Kukkuya, son of Sakununum, has borrowed 3 PI and 2 seah barley from Ibbi-Ilabrat; he has borrowed (this) for the hoeing of ([ša]) the garden of Enlil. (Witnesses)". The texts published by Miss RUTTEN date back to Early Old Babylonian kings like Mananā, about 200 years before our text was written, so nobody will wonder about the differences in their formularies.

## Notes on the text

2. The ideogram KI.KAL is to be read *kankallum* in Akkadian according to CAD K p. 152 s.v. *kankallu*, "a type of hard soil". W. VON SODEN does not give the references for KI. KAL in his *AHw* s.v. *kagallum* (= KI.GÁL); he will probably list these refs. sub *teriktum* (see *AHw* p. 787, s.v. *nidūtum*, 1.). The text published by A. P. RIFTIN, *SVJAD* (1937), No. 40:1-2, shows that the Akkadian word is feminine: a.ša KI.KAL ša P[N] ma-la ma-š[ī]-at.

The best definition of a.ša KI.KAL has been given by G. R. DRIVER and J. C. MILES, *The Babylonian Laws* I (1952), p. 138: "either land which has never been brought under cultivation or land which has been allowed to go out of cultivation". The word does not seem to designate "fallow land". It occurs very often in contracts dealing with *Neubbruchpacht* (D. O. EDZARD, *Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell ed-Dēr im Iraq Museum, Baghdad* (1970), p. 75, and earlier lit.).

In the text Kish 1927-2, published by S. LANGDON, *RA* 24 (1927), p. 96, we see that another a.ša KI.KAL is to be hoed (*rapāqum*); see below on lines 11, 15.

6. With much hesitation I suggest <sup>d</sup>E[N.Z]U-ka-ši-ir as the reading of the first PN. This reading is not excluded by the signs and traces visible on the tablet, but a name like *Sîn-kāšir* is without parallel in Old Babylonian nomenclature.

7. *Appānu* is an Akkadian PN meaning "(Big) Nose" (*Naso* in the Roman world). This name is not mentioned by J. J. STAMM, *Die akkadische Namensgebung* (1939) p. 266, § 38, 1 c.

9. *ripqātum* is the plural (fem.) of *ripqum*, "behacktes Land?" (W. VON SODEN, *AHw* p. 987, with additional remarks in *ZA* 66 (1977), p. 296). *ripqum* is a noun of the nominal pattern *pirs*(*fi'l*), see W. VON SODEN, *GAG*, § 55c. This pattern *pirs* is often used to indicate fields of special conditions; those

conditions seem to be temporary, not lasting, in the examples to be mentioned below. VON SODEN's definition in *GAG*, § 55c, *pirs* II, "Nomina actionis von eigentlichen Verben, bisweilen mit Bedeutungsübergang ins Konkrete" (italics mine) fully applies to these examples. The plural of these *pirs* formations is always feminine, probably because the general word for "field" in Akkadian, *eqlum*, has also a feminine plural (*eqlātum*).

The examples are:

*hirrum*, plur. *hirrētum*, discussed by M. BIROT, *Tablettes économiques et administratives d'époque babylonienne ancienne* (1969), p. 43 f.

(a.ša) *hirsētum*, a field designation which I hope to study elsewhere. See now M. BIROT, *BiOr* 31 (1974), p. 272a. The references are *TCL* 11, 155:16 (coll. D. ARNAUD, *RA* 70, 89), *CT* 45, 20:6, *YOS* 13, 12:12; 14, 330:5.

*ipšum*, plur. *ipšētum*; see below.

*miḥšum* in *miḥiḥ ḥarbim* "field which has been 'beaten' by a *ḥarbum*-plough", cf. F. R. KRAUS, *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 117.

*mikrum*, "bewässertes Feld" (*AHw*); also *TIM* 5, 50:4.

*nishum* in *nisiḥ še.giš.ī* "field where the sesame has been torn out" (see F. R. KRAUS, *loc. cit.*).

*ripqum*, plur. *ripqātum*; see above.

*šikkātum*, "geegtes Land" (*AHw* p. 1234).

Very uncertain: a.ša *ši-ḥi-it* DA x [...], F. R. KRAUS, *AbB* 5, No. 198:16. Is there any connection with the verb *šahātum* IV N "durch-, fortgespült werden", 1. 'aB von Feld' (*AHw* p. 1130a)? [a.ša *ši-ḥi-it-tum*, *UET* 5, 205:4?]

I am inclined to consider a.ša "*epšētum*", "field which has been cultivated", another example of these *pirs* formations. In that case, we should transcribe *ipšētum*, the singular being *ipšum*, a *pirs* of the verb *epēšum*, "to prepare a field or garden for cultivation, to cultivate" (*CAD* E p. 230a 5'); "(Feld mit) ... bebauen" (*AHw* p. 226a mng. 8 e), but also elliptic for *šipram epēšum* (mng. 8 c) <sup>1</sup>).

(a.ša) *ipšētum* occurs in *CH* § 49, § 56, and in a text published by LANGDON (see below); cf. *CAD* E p. 241b, 1.c. The syllabic writings of the word in these contexts admit *ipšētum* (*ip-/ep-*). The discussion in *CAD* I/J p. 170b already pointed to the same direction: "(...) the word [i.e., *ipšu*] is considered a *fi'l* formation and listed here as *ipšu*. Consequently *epištu* s. should have been listed as *ipištu* in spite of the fact that nearly all spellings indicate the pronunciation *epi/eštu*".

<sup>1</sup>) *šipram epēšum* precedes *erēšum* ("to seed-plow") as agricultural activity (see below); the same would apply to elliptic *epēšum*. In fact, the Code of Hammurabi contrasts a.ša *ipšētum* in § 49 with a.ša *eršum* in § 50 (see DRIVER and MILES, *The Bab. Laws* II (1955), p. 176). In the text published by LANGDON in *RA* 24 (see below) a.ša *ipšētum* (line 8) seems to be identical with the field *ša šipram epšu*, mentioned in line 2.



All examples for this *pirs* formation mentioned above are nouns which have a meaning identical to that of the verb of the same root (*rapāqum*, "to hoe"; *ripqum* "a field that has been hoed").

Deliberately I have excluded from this list the word (a.šà) *šiprum*, "field where work has been done in preparation for the seed-plowing"<sup>2</sup>). Though *šiprum* is a *nomen actionis* (*pirs*) of the verb *šapārum* "to send, to write; to control, rule", its semantic connection as a field designation with this verb is only indirect. *šiprum* means "work" and got its special meaning as a field designation from the expression *šipram epēšum*, describing in a general way the activities on fields prior to the seed-plowing (*erēšum*); see B. LANDSBERGER, *MSL* 1 (1937), p. 160; *CAD* E p. 220-221, c'; *AHW* p. 226a, 8 c.

11., 15. *rapāqum*, "to hoe", an activity mainly applied to gardens/orchards (*kirūm*) (*BE* 6/1, 23:9 [= *VAB* 5, 134]; *PBS* 8/2, 246:10; M. RUTTEN, *RA* 54 (1960), p. 19 f. No. 26:6; *YOS* 12, 395:6), a field in a garden (G. BOYER, *CHJ* (1928), p. 23, *HE* 193:10), but also to fields (*BIN* 7 197:14; S. LANGDON, *RA* 24 (1927), p. 96, Kish 1927-2:13; our text), cf. B. LANDSBERGER, *JNES* 8 (1949), p. 280, note 105.

It is interesting that the three texts which specifically deal with hoeing date from the tenth and eleventh months of the year. These texts are labor contracts, the third of them is styled in an unusual way:

(1) M. RUTTEN, *RA* 54 (1960), p. 19f., No. 26. A man borrows barley *ana rapāqim* [ša] giš.SAR<sup>d1</sup>en.lil "in order to hoe the garden of Enlil". Month X.

(2) Our text: four individuals borrow silver; they will hoe a KI.KAL-field at the rate of a surface of 16 SAR field for one shekel of silver. Month XI.

(3) S. LANGDON, *RA* 24 (1927), p. 96, Kish 1927-2. Sin-gāmil had given to Išum-gāmil 24 SAR of ú.sud<sup>2</sup>-field, cultivated (ša šī-ip<sup>1</sup>-ra-am<sup>1</sup> ep<sup>1</sup>-šu<sup>1</sup>, line 2), so that he may plant leeks on it. In return for the 24 (?) SAR of cultivated field (pu-úh<sup>2</sup> 24<sup>11</sup> SAR a.šà ip-ši-e-tim, lines 7-8), that Sin-gāmil had given to him, Išum-gāmil will hoe for Sin-gāmil ten SAR of KI.KAL-field. Month X.

9-15. 6 1/2 × 16 SAR is, indeed, 104 SAR (= 1 iku 4 SAR).

16. The reading níg-diškur for the name of the father (suggestion of Prof. KRAUS) is palaeographically more likely than [B]ur-diškur. For this name see H. RANKE, *Early Babylonian Personal Names* (1905), p. 83b ("GAR-DN").

<sup>2</sup>) Examples: a.šà šī-ip<sup>1</sup>-ru eššu u labīru, J. E. GAUTIER, *Archives d'une famille de Dilbat* (1908), No. 48:2; uncertain: 1 eše<sub>3</sub> a.šà šī-ip<sup>1</sup>-ra harpam, F. R. KRAUS, *AbB* 5, No. 198:15'. In the plural, construed as fem. pl.: a.šà šī-ip<sup>1</sup>-ra-i[u] ša PN na-di-a-[x], *PBS* 7, 84:8; construed as masc. sg.: 2 eše<sub>3</sub> a.šà šī-ip<sup>1</sup>-ra-tum ša PN uhhur, *YOS* 13, 104:1; a.šà šī-ip<sup>1</sup>-ra-tim mala adi inanna innepšu (not: innepšā) ... limur, F. R. KRAUS, *AbB* 1, No. 104:6, cf. No. 102:12. In the letters *PBS* 7, 84 and *YOS* 13, 104, seed (še . numun) is asked for, probably for these fields.

21 f. The yearname is Abi-ešuh year "a" (A. UNGNAD, *RLA* II (1938), p. 185 No. 184). A. GOETZE, *JCS* 5 (1951), p. 98 f., gave a number of variants which make the identification of the year name in our text rather certain. Abi-ešuh was the eighth king of the First Dynasty of Babylon and reigned about 1700 B.C.

# THE STRUGGLE OF KING SARGON II OF ASSYRIA AGAINST THE CHALDAEAN MERODACH-BALADAN (710-707 B.C.)\*)

In this article I wish to defend the following theses: 1. Merodach-baladan was not re-instated as head of his own tribe after making submission to Sargon, as H. W. F. SAGGS claimed in *Iraq* 20, 1958, 207. BRINKMAN already showed this in *Studies Oppenheim* p. 20, n. 102, but a new counter-argument may be found in the comparison of the passage in the Annals, on which the theory was founded, with a fragment in LOUD, *Khorsabad I (OIP 38)* p. 129 and p. 60, of which I will give an improved reconstruction \*\*.

2. The city of Dūr-Jakin was captured in 709 B.C. (13th *palû*) by Sargon, but Merodach-baladan was spared after negotiations. Dūr-Jakin was destroyed in 707 B.C. by magnates of Sargon. Yet the Khorsabad-Annals describe the capture and destruction of Dūr-Jakin as a feat accomplished in a single campaign. Thus it becomes evident that the dating by *palû* (year of reign) was abandoned for events that had occurred after the 13th *palû*. In fact there is evidence that the Annals describe events up to and including the 15th *palû* <sup>1)</sup>.

Although BRINKMAN <sup>2)</sup> recently produced an extensive and lucid study about Merodach-baladan, I believe that the foregoing theses justify a further discussion of the contest between Sargon and the Chaldaean, who, after the death of Shalmaneser V in 722 B.C., ascended the throne in Babylon and remained king until 710 B.C., when he fled before the advance of the Assyrian army.

We start our historical analysis, based on Sargon's Annals from Dūr-Šarrukīn as our most important source <sup>3)</sup>, with Sargon's 12th regnal year. In that year he marched South, not, however, immediately towards Babylon, but along the eastern bank of the Tigris, at first until Dūr-Athara, not far

\*) I wish to thank Prof. Dr F. R. KRAUS, Prof. Dr K. R. VEENHOF, Dr G. VAN DRIEL and Mrs C. VAN DRIEL for their stimulations and advice.

\*\*) I have used the abbreviations of the *Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*, Chicago, Glückstadt 1956 ff (*CAD*).

<sup>1)</sup> See also about the dating by *palû* in Sargon's inscriptions: H. TADMOR, 'The campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: a chronological-historical study', *JCS* 12, 1958, 22-40 and 77-100; M. FORD, 'The contradictory records of Sargon II of Assyria and the meaning of *palû*', *JCS* 22, 1968, 83-84.

<sup>2)</sup> J. A. BRINKMAN, 'Merodach-baladan II', in: *Studies presented to A. Leo Oppenheim*, Chicago, 1964, 6-53.

<sup>3)</sup> A. G. LIE, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, king of Assyria*, Part I, *The Annals*, Paris, 1929. For a list of other sources see the study of BRINKMAN (n. 2).

from the Surappu-river <sup>4)</sup>. Dūr-Athara, which had been fortified by Merodach-baladan, was taken by Sargon. A new province, Gambulu, was organised with Dūr-Athara, from then on Dūr-Nabû, as its capital. For some time Sargon remained in Dūr-Nabû, but he sent his troops further South, up to the river Uknu. The peoples there had to submit. Four chiefs of the Hīndaraeans came to Dūr-Nabû to make submission to Sargon in person. In the meantime, the troops of Sargon achieved successes against Aramaeans and Elamites in the Uknu territory, apparently in order to prevent Elamite military aid to Merodach-baladan <sup>5)</sup>.

Now time was ripe to make for Babylon itself. So Sargon turned northwards, crossed the Tigris and one of the branches of the Euphrates and arrived at Dūr-Ladinni in Bīt-Dakkuri <sup>6)</sup>. Merodach-baladan became afraid, left Babylon by night, fled to Jadbūr in Elam and tried to buy help from Šutruk-Nahhunte, king of Elam, but without success <sup>7)</sup>. Merodach-baladan apparently did not dare to fight the Assyrians, possibly because he had used most of his forces for the defence of Dūr-Athara <sup>8)</sup> and perhaps also because he had little support of the Babylonian population, i.e. civil servants and priests. This may be an argument for the truth of Sargon's statement in his Annals <sup>9)</sup>, that he entered Babylon at the request of the priests (*ēreb bīti*) and the civil servants (*ummānī*). That the Assyrians had support in Babylon was argued by BRINKMAN and DIAKONOFF <sup>10)</sup>.

The priests recognized Sargon as king of Babylon by offering him the leftovers of the sacrificial meal of Bēl, Šarpanitu, Nabû and Tašmetu at Dūr-Ladinni <sup>11)</sup>. After entering Babylon, Sargon sacrificed to the gods <sup>12)</sup> and took up his abode in Merodach-baladan's palace <sup>13)</sup>. The Annals further mention that Sargon dug a new canal from Borsippa to Babylon and that he defeated the Hāmaranaeans who plundered caravans near Sippar <sup>14)</sup>.

After this we read in a passage, about which there is much speculation, about Sargon's participation in the New-Year's festival in Babylon <sup>15)</sup>. In

<sup>4)</sup> LIE *Sar*, 278.

<sup>5)</sup> *ibid.*, 272-p. 54, l. 7.

<sup>6)</sup> *ibid.*, p. 54, ll. 7-8.

<sup>7)</sup> *ibid.*, p. 54, ll. 8-371.

<sup>8)</sup> *ibid.*, 273-9 and p. 44, n. 1.

<sup>9)</sup> *ibid.*, 371-4.

<sup>10)</sup> BRINKMAN in: *Studies Oppenheim*, p. 20, n. 103; I. M. DIAKONOFF, 'A Babylonian Political Pamphlet from about 700 B.C.', in: *Studies Landsberger = A.S.* 16, Chicago, 1965, pp. 343-349.

<sup>11)</sup> LIE, *Sar*, 371-3.

<sup>12)</sup> *ibid.*, 374-5.

<sup>13)</sup> *ibid.*, 375.

<sup>14)</sup> *ibid.*, 376-84.

<sup>15)</sup> *ibid.*, 384 - p. 58, l. 14.



particular LIE, *Sar*, p. 58, l. 13 has led to the supposition that Merodach-baladan was pardoned and re-instated as governor of Bit-Jakin<sup>16</sup>). In my opinion this statement cannot be upheld when we read the text carefully.

In the edition of LIE a whole verse seems to be missing in the story, namely line 390. This is caused by the fact that LIE divided the history into two parts, the first according to the inscriptions of Room II, pl. 29, of the palace in Dūr-Šarrukīn (ll. 384-390) and the second according to the inscriptions of Room V, pl. 9, from l. 13 (p. 58, ll. 13 and 14), and did not combine them very carefully<sup>17</sup>).

Now the sequel of Room II, pl. 29 (= LIE, *Sar*, 378-390), that is pl. 30, is not preserved, but we have the lines preceding l. 13 of Room V, pl. 9, though in a bad state. It seems useful to render the relevant lines (V, 9, 6<sup>b</sup>-14) in transcription. The gaps in the text could partly be restored by comparison with the extant lines in Room II, the Display-inscription and the Nimrud prisms.

- 6<sup>b</sup>. . . . .itu [BÁR a-ra-aḥ a-š]i EN DINGIR. MEŠ ŠU<sup>II</sup> [dEN GAL-i]  
 7. [dAMAR.UD dAG LUGAL kiš-šat AN-e KI-tim aš]-bat-ma ú-[šal-li-ma ú-ru-uh É]-á-ki-ti [ . . . . . ]  
 8. [ . . . . . a-na mu]r-<sup>3</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-di-e [ . . . . . ] HI ni-[ . . . . . na<sup>4</sup>KA na<sup>4</sup>] ZA-[GÍN na<sup>4</sup>BABBAR.DILI] na<sup>4</sup>UGU.[AŠ.GI.GI di-gi-li . . . ]  
 9. [ . . . . . SÍG ta-kil]-tu SÍG ar-ga-man-nu [TÚG bir-me ù] tūgGADA gi[šTÚG gišEREN gišŠUR-MÌN]  
 10. [ka-la ri-iq-qi bi-ib-lat kurḥa-ma]-[a<sup>1</sup>-ni ša e-[ri-su-un ṭa-a]-bu URUDU AN.NA [ša ni-ba]-šú la [i-] [šu a-na dAMAR.UD dšar-pa-ni-tum]  
 11. [dAG dtaš-me-t]um DINGIR.MEŠ ma-ḥa-[zi kurEME.KU] ù URI<sup>ki</sup> ú-qa-i-šá [a-n]a qiš-šá<sup>1</sup> a-ti GU<sup>4</sup>.MAḤ-[ḥi bi-ru-ti šu-<sup>1</sup>-e ma-ru-ú-ti . . . ]  
 12. [ . . . . . ] A<sup>2</sup>-ZIB-ZU [ . . . . . ] eb-bu<sup>2</sup> [ . . . . . ] HI.MEŠ KUR.[G]I.MUŠEN. MEŠ [UZ].TUR.MEŠ ma-ḥar-šú-u[n ú-šat-ri-ša-ma áš-šú šá-kan]  
 13. [BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub> I.d.AMAR.UD.]A.SUM-na DUMU Iia-ki-[ni NUMUN lúkal-di ḥi-ri-iš GAL<sub>5</sub>]-LÁ<sup>2</sup> lem<sup>2</sup>-ni am-ḥur-šú-n[u-t]i i-na su-pe-e ù [te-me-qi ma-ḥar-šú-un ut-nin]  
 14. [ul-tu i-]sin<sup>1</sup>-ni EN GAL-i d[AMAR.UD ú-šal-l]i-mu la a-[dur-ma<sup>2</sup> iš-tu] ma-ḥa-zi kurEME.KU ù URI<sup>ki</sup> at<sup>1</sup>-t[u-]muš<sup>1</sup>  
 6<sup>b</sup>. In the month [of Nisan, the month of the ex]odus of the lord of the gods the hands [of the great Lord]  
 7. [Marduk and of Nabû, the king of the totality of heaven and earth, I s]eized. I ac[complished the road to the] New-Year's feast[house. . . . . ]

<sup>16</sup> H. W. F. SAGGS, *Iraq* 20, 1958, 207.

<sup>17</sup> P. E. BOTTA, E. FLANDIN, *Monument de Ninivé*, IV, Paris, 1849, resp. planche 88 and 112; H. WINCKLER, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, Leipzig, 1889, Nrs 23 and 43.

8. [ . . . . . in ab]undance [ . . . . . ] x x [ . . . . . obsidian, lapis]lazu[li, black-and-white-stone,] ašgiku-stone[ . . . . ]  
 9. [ . . . . . blue woo]l, red purple wool, [multi-coloured garments,] linen stuffs, [boxwo]od, [cedar, cypress,]  
 10. [all kinds of herbs, the produce of Mt Am]anus, of which the sm[ell is go]od, bronze, tin without [number to Marduk, Šarpanitu,]  
 11. [Nabû, Tasmēt]u and the gods of the citi[es of Sumer] and Akkad I presented as gifts. [Fat] bulls, [fattened sheep . . . . . ]  
 12. [ . . . . . ] pure<sup>2</sup> [ . . . . . ]s, geese and ducks [I placed] before them. [In order to inflict]  
 13. [a defeat upon Merodach-]baladan, the Jaki[n]ite, [of Chaldaean ex- traction, the likeness of an] evil [dem]on, I turned to the[m:] with prayers and [supplications I prayed to them (sc. the gods)].  
 14. [After I had accom]plished [the fe]ast of my great lord [Marduk] I [departed] without f[ear<sup>2</sup> from] the cities of Sumer and Akkad.

#### Commentary

6-7. Completed in accordance with Room II, 29 (= WINCKLER, *Sar*, II, nr 23) ll. 7-8.

8-11<sup>a</sup>. Gaps as much as possible filled up in accordance with the Display-inscription ll. 142-143 and *Iraq* 16, 1954, 191, ll. 7-19. Cf. *Afo* 14, 1941-4, 51. 11<sup>b</sup>-12. Filled up in accordance with Room II, 29, ll. 9-11.

13-14. Cf. G. LOUD, *Khorsabad*, I, Chicago 1936: related fragment: photo on p. 60, copy, transcription and translation by TH. JACOBSEN on p. 129. I propose, however, another transcription and translation:

- I. . . .]. áš<sup>1</sup>-šú<sup>a</sup> šá-kan BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub> dAMAR.UD.A.SUM-na DUMU Iia-ki-ni NUMUN lúka[l-di ḥi-ri-iš GAL<sub>5</sub>.LÁ lem-ni am-ḥur-šú-nu-ti]  
 2. [i-na su-pe-e ù te-me-]qi m[a-ḥar-šú-u]n<sup>b</sup> ut-nin ul-tu i-sin-ni EN GAL-i dAMAR.UD ú-šal-li-mu [ . . . ]

<sup>a</sup> áš-šú is clear on the photograph; it is not ma-šú.

<sup>b</sup> b[a-laṭ-su-u]n makes no sense; cf. *utnin maḥaršú* in Display-inscription 175.

So this text may be quite or nearly the same as our lines in the Annals. áš-šú šá-kan BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>: On FLANDIN's drawing in *Monument de Ninivé*, II, pl. 92, of Room V, 8 and 9 we can see the actual size of the broken inscription V, 9. The length of the lines of V, 9 is twice the length of V, 8 and especially the left part of the V, 9 inscription is badly mutilated. So there is enough space to insert áš-šú šá-kan BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub> before I.d.AMAR.UD.A.]SUM-na in l. 13 or partly in l. 12. ḥi-ri-iš GAL<sub>5</sub>.LÁ lem-ni: cf. Display-inscr. 122.

am-ḥur-šú-nu-ti: cf. *OIP* 2, 44, 65 and PIEPKORN, *Asb*, AS 5, p. 66, B V 49. ul-tu i-sin-ni etc. cf. Nabonidus, *VAB* 4, 284, IX, 41-55.

From this passage we learn the following:

- a. Sargon became king of Babylon by seizing the hands of Marduk and by taking part in the Babylonian New-Year's festival (ll. 6-7).
- b. Precious stones, textiles, wood and metals were given to the gods of the Babylonian cult-cities (ll. 8-11).
- c. Various kinds of animals were offered to these gods (ll. 11-12).
- d. On the occasion of the New-Year's festival Sargon prayed to the gods for a victory over Merodach-baladan. So it is not Merodach-baladan who prays to Sargon for pardon (l. 13).
- e. After the festival Sargon made a tour along the neighbouring cities and prepared for battle (l. 14).

Merodach-baladan had fled from Babylon and tried to go to Elam, but Šutruk-Nahhunte obstructed his way and forbade him to enter Elam<sup>18</sup>), so he turned to the town of Iqbi-Bēl<sup>19</sup>). But he was not left in peace, for in the month of Iyyar in his 13th regnal year (709 B.C.) Sargon departed from Babylon to pursue him<sup>20</sup>). The cities of Bit-Zabidaia, Iqbi-Bēl and Hursaggalla surrendered to Sargon<sup>21</sup>). So Merodach-baladan could not stay in Iqbi-Bēl. He then took hostages from Ur, Uruk, [Eridu, Larsa,] Kisik and Nimid-Laguda<sup>22</sup>), probably also the gods of these cities and brought them to Dūr-Jakin. Though the text of the Annals is broken, we may surmise that the gods were mentioned in the gap. For the Annals mention the return of the gods of these cities to their places after the destruction of Dūr-Jakin<sup>23</sup>). Compare also the text of Nimrud-prism D/E<sup>24</sup>): "Marduk-apla-iddina gathered together his inhabited towns and the gods dwelling in them."<sup>25</sup>)

Merodach-baladan then fortified his ancestral city Dūr-Jakin; he made an extra circumvallation at a distance of 60 meters round the city wall and dug a ditch of 100 meters wide and 9 meters deep<sup>26</sup>). Further he dug a canal from the Euphrates and inundated the surrounding territory. Somewhere outside the city he pitched his camp guarded by the flooded terrain. Yet the troops of Sargon crossed the water and defeated the Chaldaean army. Many of Merodach-baladan's soldiers were killed and many valuables were taken in plunder. Merodach-baladan himself however was able to escape and to hide in Dūr-Jakin<sup>27</sup>).

<sup>18</sup>) LIE, *Sar*, 368; (cf BRINKMAN, *JNES* 24, 1965, 163).

<sup>19</sup>) *ibid.*, 371.

<sup>20</sup>) *ibid.*, p. 58 l. 15.

<sup>21</sup>) *ibid.*, p. 58, l. 16 (cf. *Iraq* 16, 1954, 186, ll. 50-59).

<sup>22</sup>) *ibid.*, p. 58, ll. 17-404.

<sup>23</sup>) *ibid.*, p. 64, ll. 11-13.

<sup>24</sup>) *Iraq* 16, 1954, 187, ll. 28-29.

<sup>25</sup>) See also below, p. 65f.

<sup>26</sup>) LIE, *Sar*, 405, = V, 8, 2-4 and II, 31, 1-2. cf. *CAD*, K, 405<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>27</sup>) LIE, *Sar*, 406-414

What happened next is difficult to say, because the sources have different stories. Yet I will try to present a solution to the problems. The lengthiest version is given by a fragment discovered in Khorsabad, which does not seem to belong to any of the known Rooms. It was copied by P. E. BOTTA, *Monument de Ninivé*, IV, planche 163 and called by him "Fragment". In WINCKLER's edition it is nr 55 (not collated). Because of the importance of the text I shall give a transcription and translation from l. 5 onwards. In order to make comparison with the other sources easier, I have divided the text into four paragraphs.

- I. 5. *kul-lat* UKÙ.MEŠ-šú *a-ši-bu-ut da-á*[*d-me ši-hir-ti* KUR-šú *ša TA pa-an* <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ú-še?-x-dí* AN.BÀD . . . .]
6. *ú-ša-aš-bi-ta pa-ši-ru a-di su-gul-lat* GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ANŠE.GAM.MAL.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ *še-e-n*[*i* . . . (ca 20 signs) . . .]
7. *šu-a-tu um-ma-nat aš-šur gap-šá-a-ti* 3 U<sub>4</sub>-*me mu-ši-tu šal-lat la* *ni-bi iš-lul-lam-m*[*a* . . . . .]
8. 90 LIM 5 ME 80 UKÙ.MEŠ 2 LIM 80 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ 7 ME ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ 6 ME 54 ANŠE.A.A[B.BA.MEŠ . . . . . x + 40 UDU.NITÁ.MEŠ]
9. *ša um-ma-ni iš-lu-la ina qé-reb uš-man-ni-ia am-hur*
- II. *áš-šu la a-še-e URU-šu u la na-par-š*[*u-di-šu* . . . . .]
10. *ina qé-reb URU-šu šup-šu-qiš e-si-ir-šu KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šú ak-ši<sup>giš</sup>* <sup>giš</sup>GIŠIM-MAR.MEŠ-*šu ak-kis a-na* [ . . . . . MEŠ *dan-nu-ti ša ha-ri-ši URU-šú* . . . . .]
11. *GAL-ti a-ram-mu UGU-šu ak-bu-us-ma UGU BÀD-šú ú-šaq-qi*
- III. *ù šu-ú* <sup>1</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UD.D[UMU.NITA.SUM-na . . . . .]
12. *iš-hu-ut-ma* <sup>giš</sup>HAD <sup>giš</sup>GU.ZA *id-di-ma ina pa-an* <sup>14</sup>A.KIN-*ia ú-na-šiq* *qaq-qa-ru BÀD.M*[*Eš-šu GAL-i ù ker-he-šu a-na na-pa-li*]
13. *aq-bi-šu-ma im-gu-ra qí-bi-ti re-e-ma ar-ši-šu-ma*
- IV. GUŠKIN KÙ.BABBAR NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *ni-siq-ti KUŠ AM.SI* [ . . . . .]
14. *šá ul-tú U<sub>4</sub>-me pa-ni is-ki-lu a-li-kut mah-ri* AD.MEŠ-*šu* I LIM ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ 8 ME ANŠE [ . . . . .]

#### Translation

- I. 5. All his people inhabiting the dwell[ings] of the totality of his country, who before my weapons . . . . .]
6. I caused to hide, together with herds of cattle, camels, donkeys, sheep and goat[s. . . . .]
7. mentioned above. The numerous troops of Aššur carried off spoils without number for three days and nights [ . . . . .]
8. 90580 people, 2080 horses, 700 mules, 654 ca[mels . . . . . x + 40 sheep,]



9. which my army had carried off, I received in my camp.
- II. In order to prevent him from leaving his city and from esca[ping  
....]
10. I shut him up within his city in uneasy circumstances. His orchards I cut down, his date palms I felled. To [..... the strong .....s of the moat of his town .....]
11. a big [...], a ramp I threw up against it, higher than its wall I made it.
- III. But he, Merodach-b[aladan .....]
12. became afraid. His scepter (and) his throne he threw down before my messenger, he kissed the earth, his [great] walls [and his circumvallation to pull down]
13. I ordered him and when he obeyed my command, I took pity on him.
- IV. Gold, silver, precious stones, elephant-skin [.....]
14. which his fathers since early times had appropriated, 1000 horses, 800 mules? [.....]

#### Commentary

5-9 = Room V, 7, 3-7 (WINCKLER, *Sar*, II, nr. 45)

5. completed in accordance with II, 31, 12 (ibid. nr. 24)

8. completed in accordance with V, 7, 7

10-11 completed in accordance with V, 7, 10-11. See below p. 63

12 completed in analogy with an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, AKA 81, VI, 27-28. See also note (26) and below p. 65

Let us now summarize the four paragraphs:

- I. Sargon gained a victory over Merodach-baladan outside Dūr-Jakin. His troops carried off considerable spoils.
- II. Sargon besieged Dūr-Jakin, into which Merodach-baladan had fled, but he could not take the town. The conquest is not mentioned. We read only that Sargon cut down orchards and threw up a ramp. This is the usual phraseology of Assyrian kings who want to conceal the fact that they had not been able to conquer a certain city. Compare e.g. Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-Pileser III <sup>28</sup>).
- III. Because Sargon could not take the city by force, there was room for negotiations. We cannot be sure who initiated them. A messenger of Sargon is mentioned, but it is not stated whether Merodach-baladan asked for one, or whether Sargon sent him of his own accord. Evidently Merodach-baladan's position was rather strong, for we read that Sargon took pity on him, that is to say he could not impose his will on the Chaldaean. Presumably the town walls had to be pulled down in return for the sparing of Dūr-Jakin and the life of Merodach-baladan.

<sup>28</sup>) Salm., *Balawat* IV, 4-5 in *WO* 4, 1967, 30; Tigl. Pil., *Thontafelinschrift* 23-24 in Rost, *Tigl.* III, pl. XXXV

IV. An enumeration of valuables, presumably the price paid for Sargon's withdrawal (cf. 2 Kings 15:19-20; 17:3-4)

A similar subdivision can be made in the story of the Annals of Room V, 7 and V, 6 (in this order) <sup>29</sup>)

I. V, 7, 3-7 = "Fragment" 5-9: nearly identical.

II. V, 7, 8-11<sup>a</sup>

8. [..... GU<sub>4</sub>.M]EŠ ù še-e-ni ša i-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu in-ni- [.....]
9. [.....]-šú ṛi[-na] i-ta-at URU-šú ak-šur-ma GIM ŠAH ir-[bi-iš?  
.....]
10. [KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šú ak-šit ḡišGIŠIMMAR.MEŠ-šú] ak-kis [... ..].MEŠ  
dan-nu-ti ša ḥa-ri-ši URU-šú [.....]
11. [a-ram-mu UGU-šú ak-bu-u]s-ma U[GU BÀD-šú] ú-š[aq-qi .....]
8. [..... cattl]e and goats and sheep, which of their own accord ...  
[.....]
9. [.....]... in the surroundings of his city I set up [a battle array];  
like a pig [he]l[ay? down?.....]
10. [His orchards I cut down, his date palms] I felled. The strong [...s  
of the moat of his city [.....]
11. [A ramp against it I thre]w up and I ma[de it hig]her than [his wall  
.....]

In virtually the same terms as in the Fragment it is stated here that Sargon's army was in the neighbourhood of Dūr-Jakin, but proved unable to force its way into the town. They only reached the *itāt ālišu*, cut down orchards and threw up a ramp.

III. V, 7, 11<sup>b</sup>-12

- 11<sup>b</sup>. ... ù šu-]ú ḥat-tu rama-ni-šú im-qut-[su-ma .....]
12. .... in-]na-bit-ma la in-na-mir a!-šar-šú [.....]
- 11<sup>b</sup>. ... But h[e, fear about himself came over [him
12. .... he] fled and his place of abode was not found [.....]

Again we read, that Merodach-baladan became afraid. But instead of negotiations this text mentions the flight of Sargon's enemy. These two accounts need not be contradictory, they may as well be considered complementary, each one relating to a different episode. In the period 709-707 B.C. Merodach-baladan must have fled, perhaps shortly before the destruction of his town in 707 B.C.

<sup>29</sup>) WINCKLER, *Sar*, II, nrs 45 and 47; BOTTA, *Monument de Ninivé*, pls. 110 and 109; LIE, *Sar*, 415 ff.

IV. V, 7, 13-V, 6, 6

These lines are badly damaged, but they only contain an enumeration of valuables and animals, as in the "Fragment", lines 13 and 14.

The "Fragment" breaks off at this point, but the Annals of Room V continue, though in a rather odd way. Suddenly the destruction of Dūr-Jakin is described in exactly the same words as in the Display-inscription (l. 134 ff). The way in which Dūr-Jakin was captured is not explained and, as I believe, deliberately so. From the "Fragment" we learned, that the capture was not achieved in a heroic way, but by means of negotiations. The town and Merodach-baladan were spared, only the walls may have been pulled down.

The destruction of Dūr-Jakin is a more suitable event to be included in the Annals. But as we learn from the Eponym-Chronicle<sup>30)</sup>, that it was only in 707 B.C. that this town was destroyed, the annalists must have combined two things: the capture in 709 B.C. and the destruction in 707 B.C. The caesura lies between ll. 6 and 7 of Room V, 6<sup>31)</sup> or between ll. 12 and 13 of Room V, 7<sup>32)</sup> if the enumeration of valuables concerns the booty taken away during the destruction of Dūr-Jakin.

This stated, we can solve the following problems:

A. How to combine Babylonian Chronicle II, 1'-2'<sup>33)</sup>: "The thirteenth year (= 709 B.C.): Sargon (II) took Bēl's hand. He (also) captured Dūr-Yakin (*ik-ta-š[ad]*)" and the fact, that the Eponym-Chronicle dates the destruction of Dūr-Jakin (*ur<sup>u</sup>dur-ja-kin, na-pil*) and the carrying off of the booty by the magnates in 707 B.C., or two years later. The solution is, that these texts describe different events.

The Babylonian Chronicle mentions the dismantling of Dūr-Jakin in 709 B.C. The verb *kašādu* means: "to reach", "to conquer", "to defeat", "to capture", "to get hold of", not "to destroy". The destruction and plundering of a city is specifically referred to by the verbs *hepū*, *habātu* and *šalālu*<sup>34)</sup>. Also from the "Fragment" it is clear, that in 709 B.C. Dūr-Jakin was not destroyed. The statements that Sargon "took pity on Merodach-baladan" and that only the townwalls had to be pulled down are inconsistent with destruction of the entire town. Furthermore expressions as "I cut down the orchards", "I fought in the neighbourhood of the city" and "I threw up ramps" are the usual phrases by which Assyrian annal writers conceal the fact, that a major victory was not achieved, as we saw above. However, the fact, that the

<sup>30)</sup> JCS 12, 1958, 85.

<sup>31)</sup> LIE, Sar, p. 64.

<sup>32)</sup> ibid., p. 62.

<sup>33)</sup> A. K. GRAYSON, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Locust Valley, N.Y., 1975, p. 75.

<sup>34)</sup> ibid., p. 75, I, 44; p. 77, II, 25; p. 78, II, 38, 39 and 47; p. 79, III, 11; p. 84, IV, 20.

walls had to be pulled down (Bād.M[EŠ-šu . . . . .] *aq-bi-šu-ma*—what else could Sargon command about walls?), means the dismantling of Dūr-Jakin, so that the Bab. Chr. could write *Dūr-Ia-a-ki-nu ik-ta-š[ad]*. Possibly even the destruction of the walls was not accomplished in 709 B.C. The town of Dūr-Athara was conquered by Sargon (*akšud*)<sup>35)</sup>, but the Annals do not mention the destruction of the walls. Maybe Merodach-baladan did not obey Sargon's orders in spite of the story of the "Fragment". Therefore Sargon had to punish the city in 707 B.C., so only then were the walls pulled down<sup>36)</sup>. The destruction of Dūr-Jakin may not have been so complete as the Annals indicate, for Sennacherib mentions Dūr-Jakin in a list of strong walled cities<sup>37)</sup>, though this too can be an exaggeration.

The Assyrian Eponym Chronicle only mentions the plundering and destruction of Dūr-Jakin in 707 B.C., not the rather unimpressive capture of the city in 709 B.C.

B. How should we interpret Bab. Chr. II, 4'-5': "The fifteenth ye[ar]: on the twenty-second day of the month Tishri the gods of the Sealand (*māt tamt[im]*) returned [to] their shrines"<sup>38)</sup>?

"Sealand" is the coastal area North, West and South of the Great Lagoon, so it includes Bit-Jakin, the territory of which Dūr-Jakin was the capital. After Sennacherib, however, the term Bit-Jakin is not used anymore<sup>39)</sup>. Were the gods of Bit-Jakin returned to their shrines in the same year that Dūr-Jakin was destroyed (15th year = 707 B.C.)? The answer must be, that "the gods of the Sealand" did not comprise the gods of Dūr-Jakin, but only the gods of Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kisik and Nimid-Laguda. These cities are all situated in this region. Our information is derived from the Annals of Sargon: "Of the cities of Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kisik and Nimid-Laguda, their freedom I established and their gods, (who had been) carried off, to their cities I returned and their regular offerings, which had stopped, I inaugurated again."<sup>40)</sup> Compare also Nimrud-prism D/E, ll. 75-79<sup>41)</sup>, where we have the same story. So this text was not written in 709 B.C., as GADD thought<sup>42)</sup>, but in 707 B.C. or later. Nor does it describe only the 12th and 13th *palū*, but also the 15th. These gods were returned to their shrines in 707 B.C., because they had been

<sup>35)</sup> LIE, Sar, 279.

<sup>36)</sup> ibid., p. 64, l. 7.

<sup>37)</sup> OIP 2, 53, 48

<sup>38)</sup> GRAYSON, ABC, p. 76.

<sup>39)</sup> M. DIETRICH, *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (700-648)*, AOAT 7, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970, p. 4-5.

<sup>40)</sup> LIE, Sar, p. 64, ll. 11-13.

<sup>41)</sup> Iraq 16, 1954, 186-7, ll. 75-79.

<sup>42)</sup> ibid., p. 188 and 194.

<sup>43)</sup> *Studies Landsberger* p. 343<sup>a</sup>.



carried off by Merodach-baladan two years earlier, in 709 B.C., to Dūr-Jakin, as we have seen above (p. 5). So it was not Sargon, who had carried them off, as DIAKONOFF thought <sup>43</sup>). The regular offerings for these gods accordingly had stopped for two years. So again we have evidence, that the Annals describe events of the 15th *palû*.

Why then do we lack the indications "in the 14th *palû*" and "in the 15th *palû*"? The answer is that the annalists, to embellish the story of the capture of Dūr-Jakin, combined it with the narration of its destruction two years later. So the subdivision into *palû*'s had to be abandoned. The writers from now on used other time indications, such as: "While I myself was inflicting a defeat upon Chaldaeans and Aramaens ..." <sup>44</sup>) and: "[In the time, that Daltâ, king of] Ellipi (...) had reached the limits of time ..." <sup>45</sup>).

Leiden, September 1977

R. J. VAN DER SPEK

<sup>44</sup>) LIE, *Sar*, p. 66, l. 444.

<sup>45</sup>) *ibid.*, p. 72, ll. 13-14, reconstructed in accordance with the Display-inscription l. 117.

## A HITTITE TABLET IN LIVERPOOL MUSEUM

### 1. Introduction

In 1910 TH. G. PINCHES published a number of clay tablets in the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* of Liverpool Museum <sup>1</sup>). In the course of research for my doctoral thesis on texts concerning dreams and promises, I came upon PINCHES' text no. 2, which is referred to by EHELOLF as belonging to the type of *KUB XV 1-30* <sup>2</sup>). Since only PINCHES' text no. 1 was accessible in Liverpool at the time of the publication of *VBoT* in 1930 <sup>3</sup>) and was then published as *VBoT* 108 and as such the only one to be mentioned in the *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, it seemed useful to make separately available this second text of PINCHES.

Thanks to the helpfulness of Dr D. DOWNES, keeper of Antiquities of Merseyside Country Museums, it was possible for me to study the original and to make as faithful as possible an edition, for which I should like to thank her here. The copy, drawn by W. VAN SOLDT, reproduces as far as possible the signs of the tablet; no wedges have been completed or added to (PL. XII).

A comparison of PINCHES' copy with the modern copy shows what excellent work PINCHES, who died in 1934 and who was originally an engraver and stamp-cutter by profession, in fact did in 1910 when Hittite as a language could not yet be read.

### 2. Description of the tablet

The tablet, inventory number 49-47-42, came into the possession of Liverpool Museum along with other tablets from the collection of J. GARSTANG in 1949. The obverse is darker, with more grey, than the reverse which is light reddish-brown in colour. The thickness varies from c. 1 cm. at the extreme left (which can be recognized as the left edge also on grounds of the textual data) to c. 2.9 cm. towards the right, after which the thickness decreases again. Looked at in terms of width, therefore, half the text has been preserved. The reverse is not inscribed; understandably in view of the fact that part of the colophon line is to be seen just below the upper edge. As can be seen on the photograph, the signs are very finely written and mostly very close together, but towards the bottom they become larger and more spaced out (PL. XI).

<sup>1</sup>) AAA III, 99-106, + Pl. XXVI-XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup>) In the review by F. SOMMER of *KUB XIV-XVII*, *OLZ* 30 1927, 483. The text was mentioned in 1925 by A. GÖTZE, *Hattušiliš* 67<sup>2</sup> and 80, and later by F. SOMMER—A. FALKENSTEIN, *HAB* 1938, 56<sup>1</sup> and by J. FRIEDRICH, *Orientalia* 8 1939, 310<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup>) *VBoT*, Introduction IV.

## 3. Transliteration

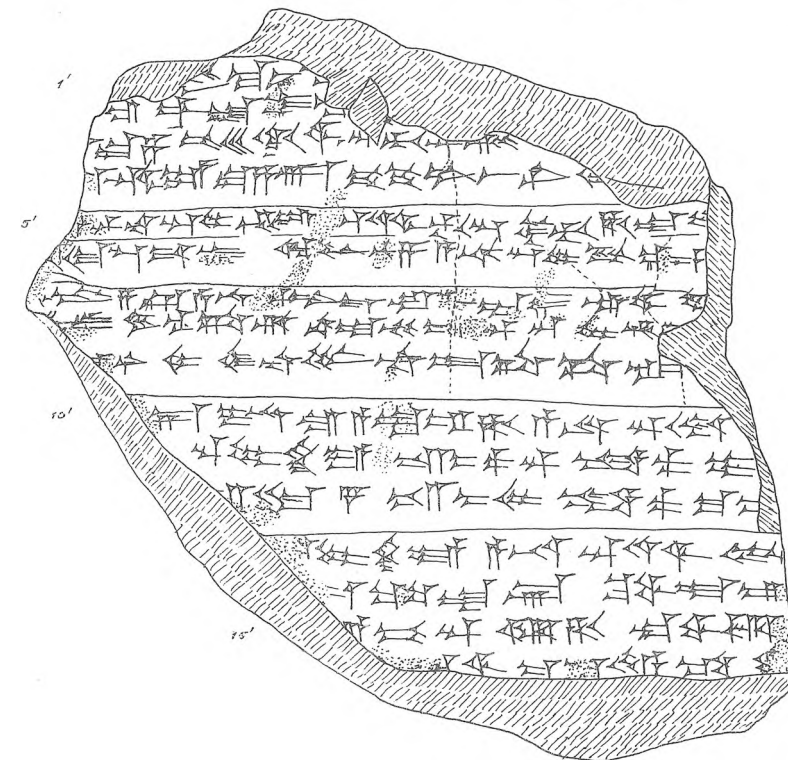
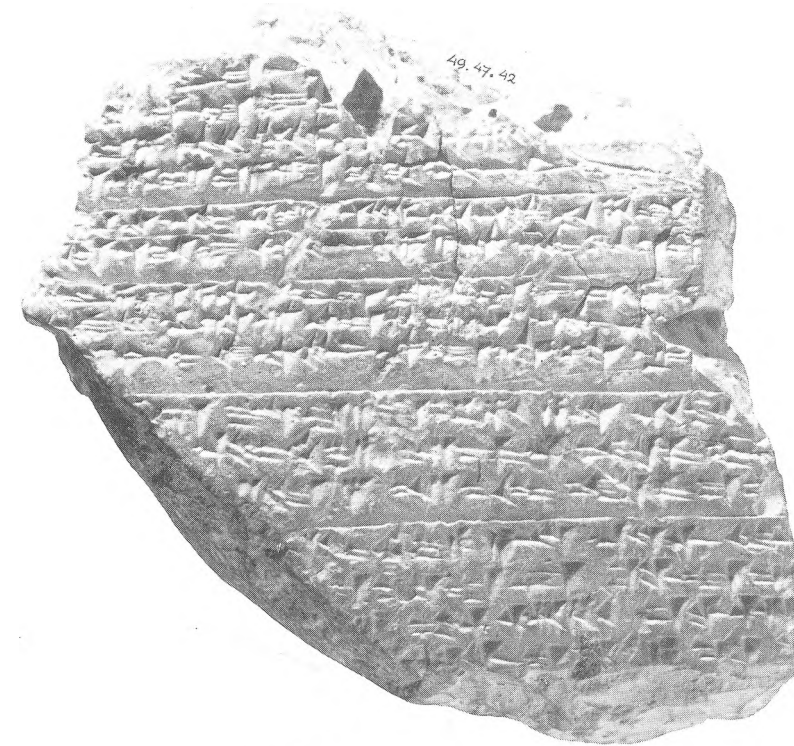
x + 1 [ DLU]GAL-ma IR-t[a ]  
 2 [ ]URU Gal-la-az-z[u-wa ]  
 3 [ ]x-du-za pí-eš-ki-u-ua-an ti-án-zi [ ]  
 4 [ ]x DINGIR-LIM-ja-du-za-kán ALAM x-aš DÙ-m[i ]  
 5 [ma -]a-an-na DINGIR-LUM EN-IA DUTU-SI TI-an ħar-ti ħa-at-t[u? -]  
 6 [h]u-u-ma-an-da-az SIG<sub>5</sub>-in nu-za A-NA DINGIR-LUM SISKUR x x [ ]  
 7 [SA]L LUGAL-za-kán A-NA DLU]GAL-ma URU[Ga]l-la-az-zu-wa ki[š-an IK-RU-UB ]  
 8 [ ]-uk?-kiš-kat-ta-ri na-at-mu ma-a-an DINGIR-LUM EN-IA [ ]  
 9 [ ]x DÙ-mi ħar-na-in-na-at-ta ŠA SAG? [ ]  
 10 [SAL LUGAL-za]-kán I-NA URU]A-la-al-ħa A-NA DIŠTAR [ ]  
 11 [ma-a-an A-NA] DINGIR-LUM GAŠAN-IA iš-tap-pa-an EGIR-pa hé-[ ]  
 12 [ ]IŠ-TU NINDA iš-tap-mi EGIR-pa-ma x [ ]  
 13 [ ]DIN]GIR-LUM GAŠAN-IA A-NA DUTU-SI ù? [ ]  
 14 [ ]-u]š-ša-at-kán ku-ua-at-t[a(-) ]  
 15 [ ]x pí-an ar-ħa du-ua-ar-[na- ]  
 16 [ ]DINGI]R-LIM GIŠTUKUL.ĦI.A ŠA x [ ]

N.B. 1 Damage to signs is not indicated.

2 The distance from [ to ] at the end of the lines is not the actual estimated distance.

## 4. Translation

1 [ Šar]ruma longed [for ]  
 2 [ ]Gallaz[zuwa ]  
 3 [ ]one is going to give you[ ]  
 4 [ ]and for you, the deity, [I] will make a statue of ...[ ]  
 5 [and i]f thou, o god, my lord, will keep my sun alive [and] his heal[th ]  
 6 [per]fect, then [I shall] . . . . for the god a sacrifice . . . . [ ]  
 7 [The qu]een [made] to Šarruma of Gallazzuwa the fol[lowing promise ]  
 8 [ ] becomes and if for me, o god, m[y] lord[ ]  
 9 [ ] I shall make and for you a birthstool . . . . . [ ]  
 10 [The queen] in Alalah to Ištar[ ]  
 11 [when one f]or the goddess, my mistress, re[veals] again that which is covered[ ]  
 12 [ ] I shall cover over with bread, after which however[ ]  
 13 [ ] thou, o goddess, my mistress, for my sun [ ]  
 14 [ ] and it to which pla[ce ]  
 15 [ br]eak away at the front[ ]  
 16 [ ] for the goddess weapons of [ ]





5a. *General commentary*

Our text is a fragment of a tablet with texts of promises such as are to be found especially in *KUB XV* 1-30. Very probably they are promises of Puduḫepa, with an allusion in lines 5 and 6 to the poor health of Ḫattušiliš III. The gods to whom Puduḫepa addresses herself are Šarruma of Gallazzuwa and Ištar of Alalaḫ.

The cult places of Šarruma which have so far occurred in Hittite texts are: Laiuna, Uda and Urikina <sup>4)</sup>. If our reading is correct Gallazzuwa can now be added to these. Could it be that this place name, unknown up to now, is the Hittite reading of Gallasu <sup>5)</sup>, situated by WISEMAN <sup>6)</sup> and ASTOUR <sup>7)</sup> in the area of Alalaḫ, by SMITH further to the North East in Zalmāqum, and by DOSSIN near Aleppo <sup>8)</sup>?

Alalaḫ, too, as a cult place for Ištar has not, as far as I know, occurred in Hittite texts up to now, although there were special festive days in Alalaḫ <sup>9)</sup> for this goddess alone, and a temple in the 18th century B.C. (Jarimlim) <sup>10)</sup>.

The worship of Šarruma and Ištar by Puduḫepa in N. Syria is very understandable in view of the political situation and the siting of Kizzuwatna as an "epicentre" <sup>11)</sup>.

5b. *Line by line commentary*

1. We often see forms of IR or of its Hittite equivalent ūek-<sup>12)</sup> in the dream- and promise texts of *KUB XV*. For example, in 1-I-13, 5-III-17 (IR-u-aš), 24, 51, 55 etc. In *KBo* I-44 + *KBo* XIII-1-IV-26 (*StBoT* 7, 19) we find the equation IGI-KAL-DI-DI = Akk. *E-RE-ŠU* = Hitt. (verb. subst.) ū-e-ku-u-ṽa-ar. By way of a colophon, we find under *KUB XV*-5-IV-39 the word: ū-e-ku-u-ṽa-ar.

Indeed, in *KUB XV* between the name of the deity (or of a person on behalf of a deity) and IR, there is always the person of whom something is

<sup>4)</sup> E. LAROCHE, *Syria* XL 1963, 293.

<sup>5)</sup> Mentioned 4 times in the Alalaḫ tablets, including once as Kallasu. (D. J. WISEMAN, *The Alalaḫ Tablets* 1953, 155.).

<sup>6)</sup> p. 72.

<sup>7)</sup> M. ASTOUR, *JNES* XXII 1963, 236 + map facing 240.

<sup>8)</sup> Referred to by H. KLENGEL, *Geschichte Syriens* I 1965, 132<sup>75</sup>.

For Akk. -su = Hitt. -zuwa one can refer to Apsu = Apzuwa (a.o. *KUB* XXXIII-106-II-19).

<sup>9)</sup> cf. D. J. WISEMAN, *Alalaḫ* 16-17 and E. LAROCHE, *Recherches* 95-96 where Nineveh, Šamuḫa and Lawazantiya are mentioned as cult places of Ištar and where "local Ištars" are referred to. In *Ugaritica* III 1956, 132 sq., LAROCHE mentions Arip-šaušga and Wandišaušga as Hurrian personal names, with -šaušga (= Ištar) as one of their elements, which occur in Alalaḫ.

<sup>10)</sup> WISEMAN text nr. 1 p. 25.

<sup>11)</sup> Extensively E. LAROCHE, *Syria* XL 1963, 294-300.

<sup>12)</sup> cf. e.g. E. LAROCHE, *La Prière Hittite* 1964, 4-8, where arija- is also mentioned alongside ūek- as an equivalent.

asked and/or the direct object and/or an adjunct of place or the instrumental case ù-it = through a dream.

2. Gallazzuwa completed on the basis of line 7. See, for the rest, general commentary.

3. A completion to nu-ud-du-za can be considered. The fact that -za is seen in this line, while it is not present in *KUB XV-3-I-13* na-aš *A-NA DINGIR-LIM* pí-eš-ki-u-ya-an te-eḫ-ḫi, (although in both cases the person to whom the gift will be made is mentioned explicitly), is striking<sup>13</sup>).

In her treatment of the infinitive, *Kammenhuber* has dealt extensively with the construction of the supine in -uḫan + auxiliary<sup>14</sup>), and she mentions here that -za is only required when the verb in the supine would also have had -za with it as an independent verb. In the end she modifies this statement by the sentence: "Letzte Klärung hängt von weiteren Untersuchungen zu -za, -kán und -šan ab".

The construction supine + main verb occurs in *KUB XV 1-30* only 3 times, of which twice in one sentence. This amounts to very little in relation to the numerous places where the compound verbal form would be possible.

4. In the light of a number of passages quoted below from one and the same text, in Hittite a dative of a substantive as the first word in a sentence, followed by an enclitic dative (from the enclitic personal pronoun) can express what in one of the modern languages is rendered by a dative of the personal pronoun followed by a noun in apposition: "to the king- . . . .-me" for "to me- . . . ., the king", for example *KUB XXIX-1-1*<sup>15</sup>) (*CTH 414*):

17. LUGAL-i-ma-mu DINGIR.MEŠ . . . . .ut-ne-e é-ir-mi-it-ta (18) ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-ir. "To me, the king, the gods . . . . have granted the country and my house".

21. LUGAL-e-mu . . . . .<sup>16</sup>) "To me, the king . . . ."

23. LUGAL-u-e-mu . . . . . "To me, the king . . . ."

-za with DÙ is no problem in itself (*KUB VI-45-III-28* nu-mu-za . . . . .DÙ-at and in the sense "to give birth" for example *KUB XXI-38-I-58*), but in *KUB XV* it does not occur with DÙ-mi.

The "rule" of Ose<sup>17</sup>, ija without -za in certain combinations when the dative of the person or the god for whom a sacrifice or feast is intended is

<sup>13</sup>) Whether -za or e.g. -at originally stood at the end of line 13 in *KUB XV-11-II-13* sq. MU.KAM-li-ya-ra-[ ] (14) [*A-NA*] DINGIR-LIM pí-eš-ki-u-ya-an te-eḫ-ḫi is, alas, uncertain!

<sup>14</sup>) *MIO* III 1955, 31-57. Concerning -za especially 45, 52<sup>+26</sup>, 53.

<sup>15</sup>) B. SCHWARTZ, *Orientalia* 16 1947, 24-27.

<sup>16</sup>) In "old script" MS C LUGAL-i-mu, where we therefore certainly have to do with a dative.

<sup>17</sup>) F. OSE, *Supinum und Infinitiv im Hethitischen* 1944, 56<sup>2</sup>.

mentioned explicitly, would apply in those cases. When -za does occur in our text, a greater personal involvement of the person who makes the promise could be supposed<sup>18</sup>).

The greatest problem lies in the sign after ALAM which I am unable to explain. A genitive of material ending in -aš would be the most obvious explanation, even if this usually comes before the noun which governs it, but as far as I know, after ALAM in Hittite texts, Sumerograms designating material always occur without a Hittite complement. We do find however other genitives with a Hittite complement after ALAM such as LÚ-aš.

5. Line 5, which without an introductory main sentence begins straight away with the conditions governing the offering of a sacrifice, perhaps points to the idea that this promise text, along with others of this sort, is an extract from originally more complete texts. The shortened versions could (with other, new promises on a single tablet) be once more written down to remind the person involved of an as yet unfulfilled promise. The half complete paragraph line which here runs through the middle of a sentence is striking: the main sentence probably begins with nu-za in line 6.

It looks as if the writer has been confused when making the tablet divisions by the lines following directly one upon another.

TI-an ḫar-ti: in comparable cases in *KUB XV* we always find TI-nu-an ḫar-ti or TI-nu-ši.

At the end of line 5, completion is possible with for example: ḫa-at-t[u-la-tar-ma-aš-ši . . . . .

6. After SISKUR, either the kind of sacrifice or a verbal form is to be expected. In the first, illegible sign it seems that the imprint of a vertical wedge can be seen in the break, after the two horizontal ones, so that pí, as the beginning of a form of piḫa- for instance, is impossible.

7-9. As completion after kiš-an, *IK-RU-UB* is obvious on grounds of a great number of parallels (-za also fits in with this very well), followed by a conditional ma-a-an . . . . for example. Lines 8 and 9 pose problems however: -mu cannot possibly occur with DÙ-mi in a single sentence. If -mu has been correctly read, then there must have been a verb in the 2nd or 3rd p. sg. in the part of line 8 that is broken off, followed by the start of the main sentence.

Thus na-at starts the 2nd subordinate clause on the same line as x-ukkiškat-tari (or x-akkiškattari). The most probable construction of lines 7-9 to me seems to be: main clause-dependent clause-dependent clause-main clause-main clause: The queen made . . . the following promise: if it becomes . . . and when thou, o god . . . . .(dost), then I shall make . . . . . and . . . . .

<sup>18</sup>) Indeed, ija- + double accusative (= make someone into something) occurs both with and without -za. (E. NEU, *StBoT* 18 1974, 100).



9. ħarnain: a chair in which a woman gives birth is promised by the queen to Šarruma in *KUB XV-1-I-19/26*. This promise is very appropriate for Puduḫepa because she says of herself in e.g. *KUB XXI-27-II-17* (CTH 384): "I, Puduḫepa, am a woman of the birthstool" <sup>19</sup>). Also, in *KUB XXI-38-I-58* sq. (CTH 176) Puduḫepa speaks of her own fertility: ...nu-za DUMU.NITA. MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ DÙ-nu-un nu am-me-el 𐎶 an-na-a-an (59) ti-iš-ša-a-an LÚ.MEŠ Ḫat-ti me-mi-iš-kán-zi, "and I have brought sons and daughters into the world and the people of Ḫatti speak (emphatically) about my an-na-a-an ti-iš-ša-a-an" <sup>20</sup>).

The conclusion appears justified that Ḫattušiliš was seriously ill during Puduḫepa's pregnancy <sup>21</sup>) even if we do have to take into consideration an exaggerated concern caused by political circumstances which resulted in continual begging for the good health of Ḫattušiliš and even for his life. Her position could possibly be threatened if her husband, who came to power thanks to a coup, were to die prematurely <sup>22</sup>).

What Šarruma's relationship is to sexuality and pregnancy is not yet clear <sup>23</sup>). The end of line 9 would make one expect DU after SAG, even if the meaning is not clear. The writing of SAG corresponds with the last sign of *StBoT* 20, no. 26. In my view there is as yet no reason to read -ra instead of SAG (ša-ra).

10. Ištar of Alalah: see p. 70.

11-12. In lines 11 and 12 it could be a question of a storage jar covered over with bread which has to be opened or unsealed for the goddess (EGIR-pa heš?) and which will again be covered over with bread by the queen. The form *ištappmi* of our tablet is characterized by GOETZE <sup>24</sup>) as "beachtenswert". We now also know the form *ištaphé* (which functions in the old text *KBo XVII-3-IV-33*, like *ištaphi*: see *StBoT* 8, 38).

In line 12 še-ir is probable for *iš-tu*, in view of the texts cited below. The participle *ištappan* of our text, which is not mentioned by GOETZE, occurs in other, comparable situations, for instance when seven jars filled with honey are covered over with figs: še-ir-ma-at-kán *iš-tu* GIŠPÈŠ iš-tap-pa-an <sup>25</sup>).

<sup>19</sup>) *KUB XXI-27-II-15* sqq., translated (with transliteration) by H. OTTEN a.o., *Puduḫepa* 1975, 22 <sup>51</sup>). One of the pregnancies of Puduḫepa is also mentioned in *KUB XXI-27-IV-34* sqq.

<sup>20</sup>) These latter words are correctly designated by KAMMENHUBER as "nicht deutbar" (*HW* <sup>2</sup> 1975, 76 s.v. 𐎶 annan<sup>2</sup>), while OTTEN too (*Puduḫepa* 31<sup>69</sup>) describes HELCK's rendering of "besondere Fruchtbarkeit" as "lexikalisch unsicher".

<sup>21</sup>) *KUB XXI-27-II-21*: "Give life to Ḫattušiliš, Thy servant". See also: M. DARGA, *Puduḫepa*, in: *Mélanges Mansel* 1974, 953 sq.

<sup>22</sup>) cf. H. OTTEN, *Puduḫepa*, 24.

<sup>23</sup>) *KUB XV-1-II-5/10* and 37/41 for example are also addressed to Šarruma. Yet this deity is not mentioned in *KUB XXX-29-I-1/20*, where an enumeration is given of gods who are called upon at childbirth.

<sup>24</sup>) *Hattušiliš* 80.

<sup>25</sup>) *KBo V-1-II-39* sq. In *KUŠE.SIR* ištappant[- and in *KUŠMÁ.URU.URU*, ištappanza

HOFFNER <sup>26</sup>) mentions two passages where something is covered over with bread:

- 1) *KUB XII-16-II-13/14*: nam-ma-kán šA ARÀḪ ḫa-[ ] *iš-tu*  
NINDA.ERÍN.MEŠ řš-tap-pí-[an-zi].  
"Furthermore, the ḫa[ ] of the ARÀḪ[ ] with  
"soldiers' bread" [they] stop up".
- 2) *KUB X-63-I-26*: na-aš-ta 𐎶A-a-bi-in še-er *iš-tu*  
NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA iš-ta'-a-pí.  
"He stops up the ritual pit at the top with  
"thick loaves" "

A possible explanation for covering over with bread or figs those jars or storage places which are filled with grain or honey for instance, is given by HOFFNER <sup>27</sup>): after the divine spirits from the underworld have enjoyed their food that has been placed in the storage place as a sacrifice, the hole in the ground has to be covered over so that the spirits are not given too "easy" an access to the underworld. The at first sight amazing double meaning of tarpi- = "evil spirit" and "(storage) area" <sup>28</sup>) then becomes more comprehensible!

13-16. Little of these lines is clear.

15. pían arḫa duḡarnai: also *KUB XV-19-7* ("und du zerbrichst sie") <sup>29</sup>).

16. The reading GIŠTUKUL.ḪI.A has been suggested by PINCHES: weapons of Ištar are mentioned elsewhere <sup>30</sup>).

#### 6. Orthography and shapes of signs

Although there need be little doubt that the text is to be dated to the 13th century BC <sup>31</sup>), there is scarcely any indication for such a dating on grounds of orthography: *gal* in lines 2 and 7, and *kiš* in lines 7 and 8 could be quoted in support of a dating to the 13th century BC rather than to any earlier time.

The shapes of the signs correspond relatively frequently with column IV of *StBot* 21 (13th century), but really strikingly so with column VII of *StBoT* 20

(OTTEN—VON SODEN, *StBoT* 7 1968, 41 <sup>42</sup>) the participle can in my view be translated in both cases with "covered over", "closed", whereby one can also think of a derivation from wooden quivers for arrows (GIŠMÁ.URU.URU<sub>6</sub>) which have a lid (ištappuli).

<sup>26</sup>) H. HOFFNER, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 1974, 165 and 35. In 1967 (*JBL* 86 391) HOFFNER had given a translation of the second passage which differs from the above on a minor point.

<sup>27</sup>) *JBL* 86 1967, 398 sq.

<sup>28</sup>) OTTEN—VON SODEN, *StBoT* 7 32 and HOFFNER, *JNES* 27 1968, 64<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>29</sup>) L. ZUNTZ, *Adverbia* 1936, 54. Most recent comments concerning arḫa duḡarnai- in N. OETTINGER, *StBoT* 22 1976, 53 <sup>45</sup>.

<sup>30</sup>) a.o. *KUB XV-1-III-37*. cf. H. G. GÜTERBOCK, *Belleten* 26 1943, 305 sq. and J. DAM-MANVILLE, *RA* 56 1962, especially 118 sqq.

<sup>31</sup>) see p. 69f.

(e.g. EGIR, al, zu, ki, LUGAL), so that the idea of a late copy of the texts of column VII, which OTTEN in his introduction on p. IX had not excluded with his phrase "wenn beide Tafeln Originale sind", finds support.

A striking characteristic of our writer is his habit of often writing the first horizontal wedge in the signs *an* and *ar* clearly obliquely, which gives these signs a somewhat different look from those seen in *StBoT* 20 and 21 <sup>32</sup>).

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## VREES IN DE PYRAMIDETEKSTEN

### *Inleiding*

Het overlijden van Dr Lukas Jan CAZEMIER (1899-1975) heeft hem verhinderd de bijdrage, waaraan hij bovenstaande titel had gegeven, te voltooien. Het stuk maakte deel uit van een aantal manuscripten, die de familie mij ter beoordeling en eventuele bezorging voorlegde. Het was het enige, dat zich voor publikatie bleek te lenen zonder het risico, dat gedachten en bedoelingen van de auteur geweld werd aangedaan. Daarvoor was de vormgeving voldoende gevorderd, ook al ontbreken inleiding en samenvatting.

In het In memoriam van Dr TE VELDE, *Phœnix* 21 (1976), 3-4, en in mijn herdenkingswoord op de Nederlandse Egyptologendag van dat jaar kreeg nadruk de centrale plaats, die de Pyramideteksten in het werk van deze geleerde bezaten. Aan dat oudste corpus uit de Egyptische dodenliteratuur is ook het onderwerp van dit rompartikel ontleend. Een thema, dat hem de laatste jaren sterk bezig hield, zoals ik in gesprekken met hemzelf vernam. Een redactie, die weliswaar geen volledig overzicht van de terminologie biedt, waarbij echter de belangrijkste uitdrukkingen aan de orde komen. Ik laat de studie thans volgen in dankbare herinnering aan mijn collega en vriend Dr Cazemier.

M. HEERMA VAN VOSS

### *Śnd*

Wordt in de pyramideteksten het woord *śnd* gebezigd dan rijst de vraag wat de oude Egyptenaren hierbij gedacht hebben. In genoemde teksten komt *śnd* 16 maal voor <sup>1</sup>). Gemeenlik wordt het gebruikt wanneer er sprake is van het in aanraking komen met de wereld van het numineuse, met onbestemde machten, waarover de mens niet kan beschikken, die hij niet kan verklaren. Volgens Spreuk 220 bezoekt de koning bij zijn troonsbestijging het heiligdom van de godheid, die de personifikatie is van de kroon.

*Hij komt tot u, . . . . terwijl hij rein is voor u, terwijl hij in vrees (śnd) is voor u.* <sup>2</sup>)

De vrees voor deze godin zal eens de vrees voor de kroon geweest zijn. Deze is toch de drager van geheimzinnige machten, die van andere aard zijn dan die

<sup>1</sup>) *pyri.* 194<sup>d</sup>, 197<sup>b</sup> (2 ×), 281<sup>a</sup>, 321<sup>a</sup>, 763<sup>b</sup>, 827<sup>c</sup>, 834<sup>c</sup>, 871<sup>c</sup>, 1039<sup>c</sup>, 1040<sup>d</sup>, 1288<sup>b</sup>, 1488<sup>a</sup>, 1925<sup>c</sup>, 1935<sup>c</sup>, 2025<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>) *pyri.* 194<sup>d</sup>.



waarover de mens kan beschikken. Met deze machten komt de koning bij zijn kroning in aanraking. Zij zullen hem ongetwijfeld met vrees, met ontzagwekkende huiver hebben vervuld. De machten aan de kroon verbonden zijn — hoe begerenswaard en onontbeerlijk voor het uitoefenen van de koningsmacht ook — toch gevaarlijk. Zo wordt de godin, die de benedenegyptiese kroon verpersoonlijkt, aangeroepen:

*Laat de schrik voor mij zijn als de schrik voor u.  
Laat de vrees voor mij zijn als de vrees voor u.  
Laat de achting voor mij zijn als de achting voor u.  
Laat de liefde voor mij zijn als de liefde voor u.<sup>3)</sup>*

Terecht beschouwt ZANDEE deze tekst als een goed voorbeeld voor het mysterium tremendum en fascinans.<sup>4)</sup>

De vrees voor numineuse machten is te bespeuren in de onweerstorm van de hemel<sup>5)</sup>; in een eventuele onvoldoende overstroming met alle gevolgen van die<sup>6)</sup>; in al de onberekenbare uitvloeijsels van de strijd, die eens plaats vond tussen Horus en Seth<sup>7)</sup>; in een oude sykomoor, die in verband stond met graf en onderwereld<sup>8)</sup>; in de naam van de koning, resp. gegeven door Osiris, die in verbinding staat met de onderwereld en door de hemelgod Re<sup>9)</sup>. Het gaat om machten, die met mens of ding verbonden, reëel en werkzaam zijn. Ook de goden kunnen ermee gekonfronteerd worden. Zo vrezen de goden van de vier windstreken voor de koning, die evenals op aarde ook in de andere wereld rechtsprekt en wiens ureusslang hen dreigt met verbranding.<sup>10)</sup> In § 763<sup>a b</sup> lezen we:

*o deze P., uw ba staat onder de goden, onder de 3hw, deze uw vrees is in h3tjw.sn.*

Wordt in deze tekst met de ba de gehele mens bedoeld, iets van deze eens huiveringwekkende macht van de koning maakt, dat de goden voor hem vrezen. Diens ba kan zich met vijandige bedoelingen „aan hun harten” hechten. In § 871<sup>c</sup> zijn het die in Nun zijn, de gestorvenen, die de koning vrezen, wanneer hij vanwege zijn numineuse krachten hen verlaat. Voor de koning vrezen eveneens de 3hw en de onvergankelijke sterren, de doden en de

<sup>3)</sup> *pyrt.* 197.

<sup>4)</sup> *ZAS* 99 (1972), S. 55.

<sup>5)</sup> *pyrt.* 281<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>6)</sup> *pyrt.* 1039<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>7)</sup> *pyrt.* 1040<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>8)</sup> *pyrt.* 1488<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>9)</sup> *pyrt.* 1925<sup>c</sup>, 2025<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>10)</sup> *pyrt.* 321<sup>a</sup>.

*hnmmt*, die hij met de vuist gegrepen heeft.<sup>11)</sup> Deze oude voorstellingen wijzen in de richting van een numineuse achtergrond. In een oude litanie<sup>12)</sup> wordt Nut de beschermster van de grote, de beschermster van de *śnd* genoemd, die ervoor zorgt dat deze niet in nood zal verkeren. Naar mijn mening is met de vreesachtige, de zwakke evenals met de grote Osiris bedoeld. Al zou de koning zelf de huiveringwekkende moeilijkheden moeten doormaken evenals Osiris kan hij op de hulp van Nut rekenen.

Š'.t

Eveneens een numineuse achtergrond heeft het begrip Š'.t. Nagenoeg alle plaatsen in de pyramideteksten verbinden het met de koning, die „verschrikking” tweegbrengt, schrik inboezemt. In § 1039<sup>c</sup> wordt Š'.t in verband gebracht met het eventueel uitblijven van de overstroming. In vijf gevallen worden Š'.t en *śnd* naast elkaar genoemd of in een zelfde verband gebezigd.<sup>13)</sup> Het zijn dus soortgelijke begrippen.

In vier teksten staat Š'.t naast *b3(w)*, *3.t* en *hk3w*.<sup>14)</sup> Het zijn gelijksoortige krachten, die schijnbaar elkaars plaats kunnen innemen. Altans van Š'.t wordt in drie gevallen gezegd dat zij zich aan beide zijden van de koning bevindt, maar in § 992<sup>c</sup> staat zij vóór hem, welke plaats gewoonlijk aan *hk3w* wordt toegewezen.

In § 53<sup>a</sup> komt Š'.t naast *śhm* voor — eveneens een numineuse „macht”, waarover de koning beschikt, waardoor hij zowel bij mensen als goden verschrikking bewerkt. Irrationeel is ook de verschrikking voor de koning bij zijn gaan naar de hemel, waardoor deze gaat spreken en de aarde beven.<sup>15)</sup> Wegens de schrik voor de koning brengen de *3hw* hem buigend hun hulde.<sup>16)</sup> Van zijn verschrikking als die er voor de kronen bestaat is er sprake in de teksten §§ 197<sup>a</sup>, 724 en 900.

Evenmin als *śnd* is Š'.t een wezen, dat aangesproken kan worden; enkel een macht, die zich doet gelden, een macht, die werkzaam is zonder met enige godheid in verbinding te staan. Wanneer zij zich doet gelden is het een gevaarlijke, huiveringsvolle zaak, die een verlamme schrik tevoorschijn roept staat men voor het geheimzinnige, dat in zijn onverklaarbaarheid een paniese schrik veroorzaakt.

Volgens het *Wörterbuch*<sup>17)</sup> is de betekenis van Š'.t allereerst verwonding,

<sup>11)</sup> *pyrt.* 1288.

<sup>12)</sup> *pyrt.* 827<sup>c</sup>, 834<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>13)</sup> *pyrt.* 197, 763, 1039<sup>c</sup>, 1488, 2025.

<sup>14)</sup> *pyrt.* 477<sup>ab</sup>, 940<sup>bc</sup>, 992<sup>c</sup>, 1472<sup>bc</sup>. Zie voor laatstgenoemde term dit tijdschrift, *JEOL* VII/21 (1970), p. 176 (H. TE VELDE).

<sup>15)</sup> *pyrt.* 549<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>16)</sup> *pyrt.* 755<sup>bc</sup>.

<sup>17)</sup> *W.B.* IV, S. 416/7.

bloedbad en ook onheil. In de pyramideteksten komt men alleen uit met de vertaling, die als secundair wordt genoemd. Mogelijk zou de god, die in § 2110<sup>a</sup> de heer der verschrikking wordt genoemd ook als de heer van het onheil betiteld kunnen worden. Het is niet met zekerheid te zeggen wie met deze god bedoeld is. De kontekst wijst naar Osiris. Heer der verschrikking kan hij genoemd worden in zijn kwaliteit van onderwereldgod, van wie verschrikking uitgaat. Evengoed heer van het onheil, de god van het duistere dodenrijk, van wie niet veel heil te verwachten is. Onheil is vaak een eufemisme voor de dood. Overigens kan iedere god, drager van macht, heer der macht genoemd worden.<sup>18)</sup> Alszodanig kan hij verschrikking inboezemen zonder dat daarbij aan een zelfstandige grootheid van macht of verschrikking gedacht is.

### Šd3

Šd3, sidderen, heeft eveneens een numineuse achtergrond. In de pyramide-teksten is nog hier en daar iets te bespeuren van een dodenrijk, waarin iedereen moest afdalen.

*Zij, die zich in de graven bevinden, wier zetels verborgen zijn*<sup>19)</sup>

vertoeven in het sombere domein van de aardgod. Voor de Egyptenaar was het een verschrikkelijke gedachte in het donker der aarde te worden opgenomen, te moeten leven in het rijk van Geb, die reeds vroeg andere aardgoden op zij had geschoven.<sup>20)</sup> Aan een onontkoombaar wezen, dat zijn mond openspert en de gestorvenen opslokt doet spreuk 273 met zijn prehistoriese reminiscenties denken.<sup>21)</sup>

In de lichte hemelse gewesten te komen beantwoordt meer aan de egyptiese idealen. Dan moet echter de aardgod hen, over wie zijn heerschappij gaat — allereerst de koning — laten gaan.<sup>22)</sup> Uit § 795 v. is op te maken, dat hij niet vrijwillig zijn rechten prijsgeeft, voor het bevel der goden moet hij echter zwichten.<sup>23)</sup> Die noodzaak doet hem over al zijn leden beven. De aarde split open en daardoor is de weg naar een beter land gebaad. De reeds aangehaalde spreuk 273 zegt, dat de koning Geb zijn rug toekeert, m.i. in de meest letterlike zin, maar van een vreugdevol verwelkomen in de hemel is geen sprake. Zijn kannibaalse neigingen veroorzaken huiveringwekkende vrees bij de goden.

<sup>18)</sup> S. MORENZ, *Aegyptische Religion*, Stuttgart, 1960, S. 19.

<sup>19)</sup> *pyrt.* 1641<sup>ab</sup>.

<sup>20)</sup> H. BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1952, S. 167.

<sup>21)</sup> K. SETHE, *Uebersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, I, S. 146.

<sup>22)</sup> Zie o.a. *pyrt.* 1235<sup>c</sup>, 2247<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>23)</sup> In *pyrt.* 2202<sup>c</sup> wordt vermeld, dat de 3krw-goden de koning niet kunnen vasthouden; deze moet dus in het dodenrijk zijn. Hierop wijst ook *pyrt.* 1236<sup>a</sup>-1237<sup>a</sup>:

*ik ben gepasseerd de boden van Osiris. Er is geen god, die mij vastgehouden heeft.*

Dit zijn naar ik meen de achtergronden van de uitdrukking *mdw p.t šd3 t3*, „de hemel spreekt, de aarde siddert”, die driemaal<sup>24)</sup> in de pyramideteksten voorkomt. In de kontekst is er sprake van het opstijgen van de gestorven koning naar de hemel, die hemel en aarde doet sidderen, al gaat daaraan niet (meer) een afdalen in de onderwereld vooraf.

De uitdrukking *šd3 t3* komt verder voor in de §§ 924, 1150<sup>a</sup>, 1365<sup>c</sup>, 1933<sup>g</sup>, 1935<sup>c</sup>, 2063<sup>b</sup>, 2109 en 2234<sup>a</sup>. Bij de hemel zijn de verba 3wr, *nhm*<sup>25)</sup>, *rmj*, *nwr*, ‘d en *nbj* geplaatst: resp. sidderen, brullen (donder?), wenen (regen?), beven, uit de voegen raken en in brand staan (bliksem?). Wordt in § 393<sup>b</sup> gesproken van het *šd3* van de botten van 3krw<sup>25)</sup> dan komt de betekenis overeen met het *šd3 t3*. In § 143<sup>a</sup> en § 2238<sup>a</sup> is er sprake van het *šd3* van de hemel; met de aarde wordt dan *nwr* verbonden. Schijnbaar kunnen beide woorden als synoniemen worden opgevat. Enige malen wordt in verband met het komen van de gestorven koning naar de hemel gesproken van het *šd3* der (dubbele) enneade.<sup>26)</sup> Hieraan kan ook gedacht worden in § 794<sup>a</sup>

*er sidderen voor u de negen.*

Het feit, dat de koning hier vergeleken wordt met Osiris doet meer denken aan de negen bogen dan aan de enneade; zie SETHE, o.c., IV, S. 15. De redactie van de §§ 1012<sup>b</sup>, 1259<sup>c</sup> en 1710<sup>c</sup> laat niet in het onzekere, dat de enneade is bedoeld. Merkwaardig is dan, dat het geheel siddert voor één van zijn leden. Mogelijk is deze wijziging zonder nadenken gebeurd, tenzij er een vage herinnering is aan de tijd, waarin de vaste vorm van de enneade nog niet bestond.

In § 281<sup>a</sup> en § 1553<sup>b</sup> is er *šd3* vanwege buitengewone natuurverschijnselen. In § 2110<sup>c</sup> wordt van de gestorven koning gezegd, dat zijn *šd3* er is in de nacht evenals dat van een god, de heer der verschrikking. Tenslotte § 257<sup>b</sup>:

*de groten sidderen als zij het zwaard gezien hebben, dat in uw hand is,*

in de hand van de gestorven koning, die als een ster opgaat. En in § 126<sup>c</sup> en § 2152<sup>a</sup> wordt gesproken van de *šd3 wr*, een roerdomp, die siddering verwekt.<sup>27)</sup>

### Nr

Een ander woord voor verschrikken, huiveren is *nr(j)*, subst. *nrrw*. Er is

<sup>24)</sup> *pyrt.* 549<sup>a</sup>, 1110<sup>a</sup>, 1120<sup>a</sup>. In *pyrt.* 1906<sup>b</sup> staat enkel *šd3 t3*.

<sup>25)</sup> De kontekst zou eerder doen denken aan *nhmhm*, brullen. SETHE, o.c. V, S. 49. Mogelijk, dat het

*Geb lacht, Nut jubelt*

van *pyrt.* 1149<sup>a</sup> aanleiding is geweest om van *nhm* te spreken. *Pyrt.* 2234<sup>a</sup> heeft echter ook *nhm p.t šd3 t3*. Dit kan zonder meer overgenomen zijn, tenzij we de invloed van Helio- polis in een oude Osiriaanse tekst mogen veronderstellen. Er volgt toch:

*Geb heeft u (vrij)gegeven, Nut u opgenomen.*

*Pyrt.* 1771<sup>b</sup> heeft *p.t nhm š t3 mnm.f*.

<sup>26)</sup> *pyrt.* 536<sup>a</sup>, 537<sup>b</sup>, 538<sup>b</sup>; van *šd3* der goden in de hemel is sprake in *pyrt.* 272<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>27)</sup> M. HEERMA VAN VOSS, *Phoenix* 17 (1971), p. 97/8.



sprake van een huiveringwekkende schrik voor het (harde) Horusoog.<sup>28)</sup> Van de koning, die het bezit, gaat een numineuse macht uit, die zijn vijanden a.h.w. verlamt: zij zijn tot niets meer in staat, zelfs niet tot zelfverdediging. Ook de goden kunnen verschrikken voor de macht, waarover de koning beschikt.

*Osiris N., ik (de priester) heb u voorzien van het Horusoog.*

*Dat is Renenwtet, voor wie de goden schrikken.*

*Mogen de goden voor u schrikken zoals zij schrikken voor het Horusoog.<sup>29)</sup>*

In § 1488 komt *nrrw* voor naast *śnd* en *ś'.t*. Het is een oude sykomoor, met de onderwereld in verband staande, die verschrikking, vrees en schrik te voorschijn roept. Dat kan ook gezegd worden van de *hmw*, heilige wezens die in de hemel gedacht zijn:

*De naam van N. is daar in de horizon; voor hem schrikken de hmw.<sup>30)</sup>*

In § 57 staat *nr* parallel met *kśw*:

*Maak, dat de beide landen zich buigen voor deze W. zoals zij zich buigen voor Horus;*

*maak, dat de beide landen nr voor deze W. zoals zij nr voor Seth.*

Er zou vertaald kunnen worden met respect hebben voor. SAINTE FARE GARNOT heeft erop gewezen<sup>31)</sup>, dat hier sprake is van een stijfiguur, zodat vertaald dient te worden:

*Maak, dat de beide landen met verschrikking zich buigen voor de koning zoals zij zich met verschrikking buigen voor Horus en Seth.*

In vroegere tijden was de koning god. Zijn goddelijkheid en zijn bovenmenselijke krachten waren voor de gewone mensen schrikwekkend. Het verhaal van Sinuhe laat nog zien, dat deze met vrees en beven de koning nadert.

Tenslotte komt in § 123, een tekst vol woordspelingen, twee maal *nr* voor:

*iw nk n W. nfr.t nr.f św tbt śśśś*

*in hm nfr.t nr n W. rdj.ś t3 n W.*

*ir.ś n.f nfr.t m hrw pn.*

*W. heeft gekoiteerd met Nefret; zijn schrik is het ontbreken van voedsel(?) en drank(?).*

*Doch Nefret is het die schrikt voor W., zij geeft brood aan W., zij maakt het voor hem wel op die dag.*

<sup>28)</sup> *pyrt.* 113<sup>b</sup>, 249<sup>b</sup>, 302<sup>c</sup>, 614<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>29)</sup> *pyrt.* 1755; zie ook 1794.

<sup>30)</sup> *pyrt.* 1766<sup>c</sup>; zie ook 1783<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>31)</sup> J. SAINTE FARE GARNOT, *L'hommage aux Dieux sous l'ancien Empire égyptien d'après les textes des Pyramides*, Paris, 1954, p. 4.

De koning is wel zeker van seksuele mogelijkheden m.b.t. zijn geliefde na de dood, maar ondanks de verzekering van Re schijnt een schrik voor een eventueel gebrek aan voedsel hem te overvallen.

*Nwr*

Reeds wezen we erop, dat *nwr* naast *śd3* gebruikt wordt om het beven van de aarde weer te geven. Het komt vijf maal voor.<sup>32)</sup> Als Seth onder de last van Osiris, die hij dragen moet, beeft wordt dit beven vergeleken met het beven van de aarde.

*Horus heeft Seth gegrepen, hij heeft hem onder u gelegd opdat hij u draagt en onder u beeft als het beven der aarde.<sup>33)</sup>*

In de §§ 1933<sup>g</sup> en 2109 wordt van het *nwr* van de hemel gesproken. Steeds in verband met verschijnselen of voorstellingen van numineuse aard. Dit is ook het geval wanneer van *Hntj irtj*, op wiens komen men niet gesteld is en die verwezen wordt naar het onbehagelijke *Ddwn* gezegd wordt:

*gij wordt gevonden voor hen (de bewoners van Ddwn) m nwr<sup>34)</sup>*

Op wie het *m nwr* ook moge slaan het gaat om een huiveringwekkende ontmoeting, die een unheimliche<sup>35)</sup> vrees inboezemt. Is in § 1767<sup>b</sup> *nwr* te lezen dan is het in tegenwoordigheid van *Imj nhdf*, een of ander goddelijk wezen.

De mogelijkheid is niet uitgesloten, dat de naam van de *nwr*, een soort reiger, in verband staat met het werkwoord *nwr*: de vreesaanjager.<sup>36)</sup> Boven is erop gewezen, dat de gestorven koning bij zijn komen in de hemel vrees verwekt. Als *nwr* kan hij er heen vliegen volgens § 2179<sup>a</sup>:

*gij vliegt naar de hemel als een nwr.*

Ook de naam van de veerman *nwrw*<sup>37)</sup> zou met *nwr* kunnen samenhangen.

In *pyrt.* 1120<sup>a b</sup> wordt gezegd, dat hemel en aarde in beroering zijn. T.a.v. de aarde wordt dit twee maal vermeld of liever drie maal. Voor de Egyptenaar was toch zijn land de hele aarde.

*mdw p.t śd3 t3 gb nmnm śp3.tj nhmhm*

Daarvan is de reden, dat de koning naar de hemel stijgt. „De beide gouwen brullen” van angst voor dit gebeuren. In *pyrt.* 1394<sup>c</sup> brullen de beide gouwen (= Egypte) t.a.v. de koning, die in de aarde neerdaalt. Geb wordt gevraagd

<sup>32)</sup> *pyrt.* 143<sup>a</sup>, 581<sup>b</sup>, 956<sup>a</sup>, 1855<sup>a</sup>, 2238<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>33)</sup> *pyrt.* 581<sup>b</sup>, zie ook 1855<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>34)</sup> *pyrt.* 1270<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>35)</sup> Zie voor deze notie M. HEERMA VAN VOSS, *Phoenix* 19 (1973), p. 282/4.

<sup>36)</sup> H. KEES, *Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1941, S. 52.

<sup>37)</sup> *pyrt.* 1183<sup>a</sup>, 1964<sup>b</sup>.

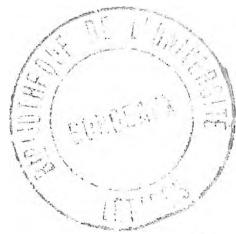
zijn mond te openen om zijn zoon Osiris te ontvangen. In deze tekst behoort schijnbaar de hemelvaart van de koning (nog) niet tot de geloofsvoorstellingen.

In pyrt. 1110<sup>a</sup> wordt naast het *mdw p.t šd3 t3* geplaatst: *3ghgb ntrw iwnw*. De kontekst spreekt het meest voor de vertaling, dat de goden van Heliopolis „verschrikt, versteld staan”. Van het *šd3* der (dubbele) enneade wordt toch herhaaldelijk gesproken <sup>38)</sup>.

*Voorschoten*

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<sup>38)</sup> *pyrt.* 536<sup>a</sup>, 537<sup>b</sup>, 538<sup>b</sup>, (794<sup>a</sup>), 1012<sup>b</sup>, 1259<sup>c</sup>, 1710<sup>c</sup>.





AFKORTINGEN — ABRÉVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger	JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research	JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
AASxr	Annales Archéologiques de la Syrie	JNSL	Journal of North-West Semitic Languages
AcOr	Acta Orientalia, Societates Orientales Danica, Norregica, Svecica	JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
ÄgFo	Ägyptologische Forschungen	JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung	MDAI	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
AnSt	Anatolian Studies	MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia	MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
AOAT(S)	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Sonderreihe)	OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
ArOr	Archiv Orientalní	OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte	OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
BA	Biblical Archaeologist	OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research	OrNS	Orientalia, Nova Series
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale	PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis	RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
BJV	Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte	RB	Revue Biblique
CAH*	Cambridge Ancient History, Revised Edition of Volumes I and II	RdEg	Revue d'Égyptologie
CdEg	Chronique d'Égypte	RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
CRAI	Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres	RHA	Revue Hittite et Asiatique
CRRAI	Compte Rendu de la ... Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale	RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual	RQ	Revue de Qumran
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal	RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali
IrAnt	Iranica Antiqua	UgFo	Ugarit Forschungen
JA	Journal Asiatique	VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istori
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University	VT	Vetus Testamentum
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society	WO	Die Welt des Orients
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt	WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientalgesellschaft
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature	WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies	YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts	ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie
JEa	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology	ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
JEOL	Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux	ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
		ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
		ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins

CONTRIBUTORS are requested to use the above mentioned abbreviations. Manuscripts should be typewritten (notes on separate sheets), prepared according to the following rules: *double underlining* (=small cap roman): names of authors; *single underlining* (=italics): transliterations of texts and words, titles of books, names of periodicals; titles of articles between inverted commas. Contributors receive 40 free offprints. Manuscripts should be sent to the Editor "Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux", K. R. Veenhof, Schubertlaan 50, 2102 EM Heemstede, The Netherlands.